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STATE PAPERS  
CONCERNING  
THE IRISH CHURCH  

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STATE PAPERS

CONCERNING

THE IRISH CHURCH

*IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.*

EDITED,  
FROM AUTOGRAPHS IN HER MAJESTY'S PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE  
AND THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

BY  
W. MAZIERE BRADY, D.D.,

Author of "Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross," "The Irish Reformation," "The M'Gillycuddy Papers," &c., &c.



LONDON:  
LONGMANS, GREEN, READER & DYER.  
1868.

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**BROWNE AND NOLAN, PRINTERS, DUBLIN.**

## PREFACE.

THE information, which this collection of letters and documents affords, touching the mode in which it was sought to introduce the Reformed religion into Ireland, must be regarded, however opposed to common theories, as authentic, for it is impossible to gainsay the concurrent testimony of contemporaneous Lords Lieutenant, Lords Justices and Chancellors of Ireland, Presidents of Provinces, Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Secretaries of State, Privy Councillors, and Prelates of the Establishment. The State Papers, now published, include letters—some of a private and some of a public nature—written by the Anglican Prelates, Loftus, Long, Magrath, Brady, Jones, and Middleton, and by the Earl of Essex ; Lord Burghley ; Lord Grey ; Lord Chancellor Gerrard ; Sir H. Sydney ; Sir F. Walsingham ; Sir E. Waterhouse ; Sir W. Drury ; Sir H. Wallop ; Sir W. Pelham ; Sir N. Malby ; Sir John Perrott ; Sir W. Fitzwylliams ; Sir N. White ; and others. These high functionaries themselves describe the total failure of the Elizabethan Reformation in



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Ireland, in spite of the violent means, namely, fines, imprisonment, tortures, and death, unscrupulously employed by the ecclesiastical as well as civil agents in that alleged Reformation.

The originals of all the Papers in this collection, excepting those specially noted as being preserved in the British Museum, are in her Majesty's Public Record Office.

Many—and those by far the most important—of these "State Papers" were brought under the Editor's notice by Mr. FROUDE. To him the Editor confesses himself indebted for assistance (on this and other occasions cheerfully rendered) in bringing to light the long-concealed truths of Irish Church History.

DONOGHPATRICK, NAVAN,

*13th April, 1868.*

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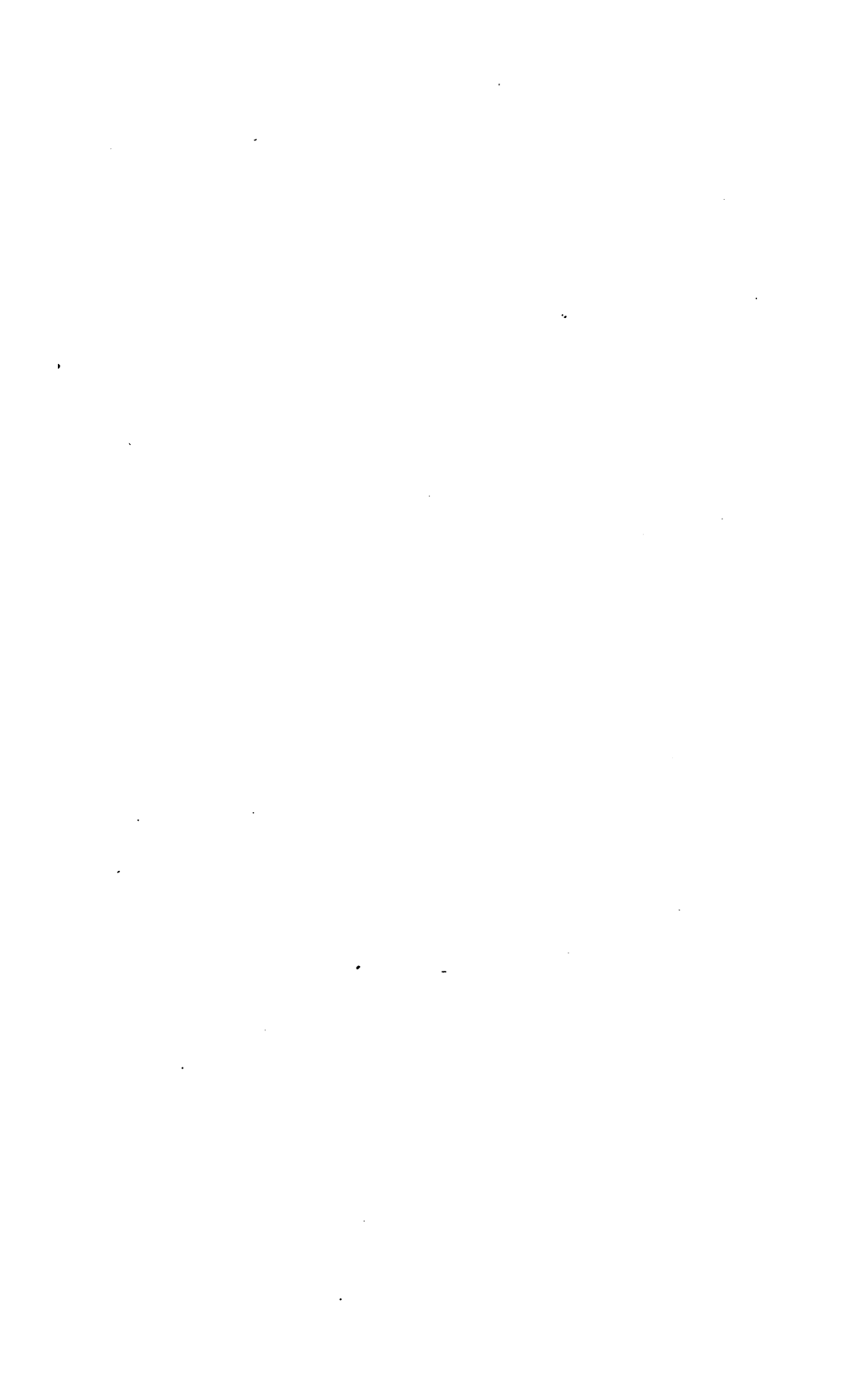
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## STATE PAPERS.

### I.

*Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, to the Earl of Sussex, in commendation of Walter Hope.* [Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS. Titus. B. xiii. Art. 56, f. 165.]

1565, January 23.

[Holograph.]

My good Lord,—That I have not hitherto performed my promise in repaying the money I borrowed, I humbly for Christ's sake crave pardon.

The let is that I continued so long at the water side, till I was much impoverished myself and withal money so scant here as that I cannot come by that is due unto me. It will not be long ere I make payment by God's help. This poor man Walter Hope, thinking I could do something with your Lordship, requested me to commend him unto your Lordship. I presume he shall fare the better in his reasonable suite for my sake, your former goodness maketh me so bold. Nothing can I write to your Lordship, for all kept close from me here.

I suppose what they can do or say against your Lordship, or any other, it is done now, sithence Sir



Thomas's departure, for they have been marvellous busy about it, as though before they could not or durst not, so as now I am sure what they have they have uttered. There hath been some jarring betwixt my Lord Justice and Mr. Marshal. I am sure the whole Court ringeth of it there, or this time. I wish Mr. Marshal had taken better heed, remembering how glad they would be to have any matter. It is commonly said here your Lordship cometh very shortly. How welcome you shall be to myself, I will not speak, but the Lord knoweth, who ever increase your honour and continue your health.

From my house at Ardraccon this 23rd of January, your Lordship's while life lasteth, H. MIDEN.

[In dorso]

To the Right Honourable my singular good Lord the earl of Sussex, deliver this.

[Docketed]

The Bishop of Meath.

23rd January, 1565.

## II.

*Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, to the Earl of Sussex, recommending the recall of the Lord Justice, Sir Nicholas Arnold.* [Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS. Titus. B. xii. art 30, f. 135.]

1565, April 4.

[Holograph.]

My good Lord,—I humbly commend me, and, thanking you for your goodness towards me, I have

written to the Queen's Majesty, simply advertising the danger and misery of this State. I have done it dutifully. I pray God it be so taken. Greater trouble will shortly follow than I would be glad to see, unless it be advisedly prevented. The Governour waxeth through wantonness out of credit, whereby there groweth hurt and more will. I have plainly told my Lord of Leicester so. I trust he will take it in good part. I have advised him with speed to send for him home and told he is not able to do good here. Sir Henry Radcliff hath been hardly handled, but all for the best it falleth so out. If the doer had any credit, then he hath by so cruel dealing impaired it. I saw myself a letter of my Lord of Leicester wherein he much discommended his dealing. I will by God's grace, with the next passage write more largely, and would ere this, but I had thought your Lordship had been in Flanders—so it was reported here. I pray God long to continue your health of body and soul, with continual increase of honour and virtue. From Dublin this 4th of April. Your Lordship's in his prayer, while life endureth, H. MIDEN.

I beseech your Lordship—Be good to poor Leech the bearer.

[In dorso] To the Right Honourable my singular good Lord, the Earl of Sussex, deliver this.

### III.

*Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, to the Earl of Sussex, defending himself against certain accusations, and giving an account of the doings of O'Neill, O'Reilly*

*and others. He mentions the recall of Archbishop Curwin, and the offer of Sir H. Sydney, the Deputy, to recommend him (Brady) for the see of Dublin.*  
[Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS. Titus. B. xii, art. 36, f. 149.]

1566, April 27.

[Holograph.]

I remain, My singular good Lord, unspotted of my promise towards your Lordship. Neither will I give place to any of your well-willers in this land, more dutifully, to my ability, to behave himself towards you or yours, whatsoever froward report (which seldom saith well) hath said to the contrary, if at any time my tongue hath spoken or my pen did write anything to the prejudice of your honour or violating of that I professed towards you. Having indifferent hiring, let me be condemned for an inconstant man and never received to your favour again, if not but rather my affection daily increasing with continual prayer I might stand you or yours in any stead. Why should it not grieve me to see the rest here receive letters of some trust, but myself shut out at doors—besides some talk Holdiche [Mr. Holdege, servant to Oliver Sutton] had with me, whereby I might easily gather your Lordship to have conceived some mistrust? But I hope your goodnature, even of mere justice will either name the accuser together with the accusation (if any be), or else, receiving this my purgation bring me out of doubt, protesting before the Lord Jesus Christ, with the testimony of my conscience, you are the nobleman in this world I most honour—and whom, during my life, I will serve with all possible duty—requiring most humbly your good Lordship will bring me out of doubt of your favour towards me.

And now somewhat of our state here. On Monday

next, it is agreed, the Lord Deputy, with the rest of the Council, accompanied (as it is thought) with a nine hundred or a thousand horses, is to go to Dundalk, and in some place of these borders to meet O'Neill's coming, for ought I can see, as uncertain as the place, but most certain, if he come, to be such a disordered coming as I fear me neither will be profitable nor honourable. But thereof—as it shall fall out—so will I, by God's grace, certify your Lordship. Sundry great outrages are daily by him (O'Neill) committed, as of late in Maguire's country—the other day in Odonnell's [O de Neles] country, putting to death most cruelly a great number of men, and taking Odonnell's brother, but since putting of him to death—spoiling also certain of Sir Nicholas Bagnold's lands—with much more than now I think good to speak of. His tyranny joined with his pride is intolerable, daily increasing in strength and credit, with admiration and fear of the Irishry—the end whereof (if I be not deceived) will touch the favourers or rather winkers at his proceedings, and discharge [from blame] some that simply hath told what end would ensue of the same. And this much of O'Neill.

O'Reilly that now is, met my Lord Deputy at Athboy (being on his progress which he took in hand the first week of Lent and ended the same the Wednesday before Easter) when submitting himself to the order of such Commissioners as my Lord should appoint, hath by the same Commissioners awarded against him and his country as much (if I be not deceived) as all the Brenny is worth, but never one groat awarded to him, although his challenges against the Earl of Kildare, the bastard Geraldines with the rest of the Pale, come to eight or nine thousand kine;

which will make him (I fear me) desperate—ready rather to rebel, than by paying all to become with his a beggar. For the manner of ordering his country he passeth all that went before him.

The O'Mores which slew Nugent [Garret Nugent, uncle of the Baron of Delvin] are (after much harm done by them) now taken in; but of [Captain] Tyrrell's seven hundred kine not one is restored. Some of the other Mores that were with Pierce Grace are also come in. The rest be as it were hushed, looking what O'Neill will do.

Sir Warham St. Leger, together with Baron Cusack and White of Waterford, are in the West. Of their proceedings I can as yet say little. The Earl of Desmond hath married the Lord of Dunboyne's daughter; but why do I trouble your Lordship with such frivolous matter. The Council there sent unto me by one Oliver Sutton [He was of Richardston, county Kildare, and was now seeking a fee farm grant of the Augustinian Friary of the Naas and of the Nunnery of Kildare.] a letter, willing me to say my knowledge concerning a certain book, exhibited by the said Oliver to her Majesty. I will, by God's help, say freely what I know, and yet, I fear, to small purpose if it be heard with a deaf ear.

Being desirous somewhat to know in what terms your Lordship and the Lord Deputy here stood in, I presumed, on some fit occasion had, to enter thereof some talk, who, in the end said—"Surely, My lord, I am sorry it is not, and wish it were, otherwise between us than it is. But I trust it will be better, and in the mean time I will deal with any shall appertain unto him in such sort as the world shall see me void of

affection, but rather do them the good I may." "Verily, My Lord," quoth I, "and so it shall beseem you right well to do, but yet, I fear me, poor Adam, if he be taken, goeth to the Gibbett: he is already indited and laid for to be tried."

It is so my lord, the archbishop of Dublin, is sent for home, I think through your Lordship's help, whereof my Lord Deputy told me, asking if I would have him to write in my behalf. To whom after I had given thanks, I prayed him he would so do; which thing he has done to the Earl of Leicester and Mr. Secretary. If there be any let, it will be in Mr. Secretary, who, I fear, has received some sinister report of me. And yet, neither by word nor writing have I received any such knowledge, whereof I most humbly beseech your Lordship—if any such be—to certify me of it, and not only to remove the same, but also to prefer my suit begun by the Lord Deputy, which, if he had not offered, should only be laid upon yourself. And yet, [this suit] begun by him, I know will never come to good effect, unless by yourself, even as I doubt not of your Lordship's favour herein. So I pray God increase your honour. From Dublin this 27th of April—your Lordship's, most humbly during life, H. MIDEN.

I will very shortly write again, and then say somewhat of Arnold.

#### IV.

*Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, to Sir W. Cecil, in behalf of the Town of Drogheda.*

1567, December 13.

[Holograph.]

Right Honourable, (my duty of commendation pre-

mised) I have thought me, in the behalf of my good neighbours, the townsmen of Drogheda, to become an humble suitor unto your Honour. You will favourably (the rather at this my humble request) be a furtherer of their reasonable suits to your Highness. Their readiness only at all assays, to further Her Majesty's service, deserveth favour, as my Lord Deputy can and will, I doubt not, report. Thus, verily hoping your Honour will herein extend your favour and goodness, I most lovingly take my leave. From Saint Patrick's, this 13th day of December, 1567, is by your Honour's servant during life, H. MIDEN.

## V.

*Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, to Sir William Cecil, recommending Baron Cusack to be Chief Baron of the Exchequer, on the ground of his being the only lawyer who favoured religion.*

1570, February 6.

[Holograph.]

Right honourable, (my bounden duty remembered) I thought it my part, being a matter that may further or hinder religion, and her majesty's godly proceedings here—the good choice I mean in the room of Baron Bathe lately deceased—to say simply my mind. The baron Cusack, eldest son of Sir Thos. Cusack, having served in room of second Baron, of long time, both painfully and faithfully, by all men's report, is the only man of his profession that favoureth religion in this land and therefore in my opinion the fitter for that room. The number of lawyers is great and

beareth no less sway. So are they, for the most part, nay I might say all, thwarters and hinderers of matters that should tend to the reformation of Religion. I wot not truly whom my Lord Deputy will commend. If I wished he would commend any other, I would not this far adventure, but trusting to God he will light upon this choice, who in all our opinions that be favourers of Religion is the only fit man. I have boldly troubled your honour beseeching the almighty God long to prosper & continue your honour in health and prosperity to the great comfort of his church. I humbly take my leave at Dublin this 6 of February 1569/70. Your Honour's humbly to command, H MIDDEN.

[Addressed] To the Right Honourable Sir William Cecill, knight, principal secretary to the Queen's Majesty.

## VI.

*Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, to the Chief Baron, touching measures for resisting an expected attack by O'Neill.*

1572, August 2.

[Extract.]

"I have received this letter now at one of the clock and past. The messenger brought more hasty news than the letter, for he saith assuredly that Sir Leynaghe [O'Neill] with a great force, is in readiness to invade us this night. The place we should repair to is Moy-nalty. I have written to the Sheriff. So have I to the Portriff of the Navan. I have sent for



Michael Cusack or his son. God grant they be to be found. I will make what numbers I can ready. I pray you, send what numbers you can out of Trim and elsewhere, that they may be with the rest at least in the morning before day. I wish you would take pains yourself to be here very early. Our rising out will be very vain else."

## VII.

*Edward Waterhouse to Her Majesty's Secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, recommending bishoprics in future to be given to soldiers of experience. From Dublin.*

1574, June 14.

[Extract.]

Waterhouse, after describing the country generally as utterly lawless, and advising the recall of Fitzwilliam, the Deputy, thus proceeds:—

"I am bold to tell your honour what I hear of these things because it is meet you should know them and because you must be the instrument to redress them. But whensoever any alteration shall happen, let all offices be given to soldiers of experience, and to none others. I would the Queen would also so bestow her bishopricks, for here is scarce any sign of religion, nor no room for justice till the sword hath made a way for the law."

## VIII.

*Notes in the handwriting of Lord Burghley, concerning the government of Ireland.*

1575, February.

[Extract.]

Degrees for the Government of Ireland.

The best is to seek the reformation of Ireland as

well by force as by order of justice, that the English may obey laws and the Irishry be kept from rebellion, and so by success of time the Irish to be brought to be governed either by the law of England, or by some constitutions to be compounded partly of their own customs and Brehon laws that are agreeable to reason and partly by the English laws.

The means presently to be used are these at this time.

*For the English to be better ordered by justice*—That a convenient person of England, learned in the English laws, be made Lord Chancellor.

That another of like sort be made Chief Justice of the one bench or the other.

That for Munster presently a learned man of England be there appointed a justice, and under him, to assist him, some one of Ireland, being learned in the laws. And that one martial man be there also, with a band to aid the Sheriffs of the counties in execution of law as need shall require.

That means be used with the bishops, noblemen, and freeholders, to contribute in victuals a convenient portion both for the soldiers and for the justices, whereby they may the better live of their fees and wages.

That every nobleman, and other captain of the countries, which hath of late years used to take coyne and livery for maintenance of men of war, may be treated withal to reduce his number to a certainty and his cess also of victuals; so as the people chargeable therewith may know what to yield, and the rest to retain to their own profit.

And if at any time there shall be occasion that any such nobleman or other shall have cause to levy more

men of war for the service of Her Majesty against any Irish, that then the said nobleman shall be limited how he shall be maintained with a longer cess and not to take it at his own discretion.

*Item*—This manner of cess for victuals to wage men of war to continue, until the power of the Irishry may be diminished, and they brought to live in a more peaceable manner.

*Item*—That such as have served dutifully in this last revolt of the Earl of Desmond may be cherished and maintained in all their lawful cases.

*For the Irishry*—That as many of these captains of countries as may be induced, will take their countries of her Majesty by her grant to them and their heirs of their bodies, and to pay to her Majesty some yearly rent in victual for a knowledge.

That such as shall be apparent to be their heirs, may be, according to their ages, brought up in English sort, so as they may have knowledge of civility, to help to maintain their estates of inheritance.

For such as will not take their countries by grant of the Queen's Majesty, there should be sought means to procure and entice some others of the same countries, being of some sept of strength, to take the same countries by grant.

## IX.

*The Earl of Essex to Walsingham—from Dublin—  
concerning an intended Reformation.*

1575, May 9.

[Extract.]

"I cannot blame her Majesty though she were

weary of Ireland and loath to be persuaded to do anything that sheweth difficulty, because it is certain her Highness hath spent £600,000 in her time here, and the realm never the better. But, trust me, Sir, Reformation was never thoroughly intended till now, as I think."

## X.

*Sir Henry Sydney "made a progress" in Munster about the beginning of the year 1576. His report of his progress contains minute notices of all that he saw and did.*

1576, January to April.

[Extracts.]

In the course of this progress the bishop of Cashel (Miler Magrath) and Cork (Matthew Sheyne) and "the elect of Roscarbery" (Cornelius O'Brennon) "came to do me honour." At Cork, Sydney remarks, "we got good and honest juries" and "with their help twenty-four malefactors were honourably condemned and hanged."

Munster was then in good "towardness" to be reformed, "but it never needed more a discreet and active government there continually resident, for these people are, for the most part, all Papists, and that of the malicioust degree."

Sydney entered Thomond on the 27th of February, attended by the "Earl of Thomond and a cloud of O'Briens besides. He lodged the first night in the dissolved Priory of Coyne, and on the next rather "encamped than lodged in the ruined see of Kimla-

kohah [Kilmacduagh] where"—observes the Deputy—"I and my company had bad fare and worse harbour."

At Galway Sydney was "continually attended" by the Earls of Clanricard and Thomond, the archbishop of Tuam and the bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh. He found there "plenty of burning, rape, murder and sacrilege, besides such spoil of goods and cattle, as in number might be counted infinite and in quantity immeasurable." He hanged a good many malefactors.

At the end of the account of his "progress" Sydney discourses on the Reformation of Ireland, under three heads:—Firstly, the church. Secondly, A standing army. Thirdly, Three English lawyers for Chief Justices, and an Attorney General. He thus treats of the church:—"The first head is the church now so spoiled (as well by the ruins of the Temples, as the dissipation and embezzling of the Patrimony, and most of all for want of sufficient ministers) as so deformed and overthrown a church there is not, I am sure in any region where Christ is professed, and preposterous it seemeth to me to begin reformation of the politic part and neglect the religious."

## XI.

*Sir H. Sydney's letter to the Queen describing the Irish Church.* Of this letter, which has already been printed in Mant's History of the Irish Church, there are several copies. That which follows is from the Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS. Titus. B. x.

1576, April 28.

[Holograph.]

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty—I have in four several discourses, addressed unto the Lords

of your Highness' most honourable Council, certified them how I found this your Highness' Realm at mine arrival into the same, and what I have seen and understand by my travel these six last months. In which I have passed through each Province and have been almost in each countie thereof. The which I would not send unto your most excellent Majesty immediately to be read by the same, lest they should have seemed too tedious, partly through the quantity of the matter, but chiefly through the bad delivery thereof by pen—not doubting but your Majesty is by this time advertised of the material points contained in them.

And now, most dear Mistress and most honoured Sovereign, I solely address to you—as to the only Sovereign Salve-giver to this your sore and sick Realm—the lamentable estate of the most noble and principal limb thereof:—the Church, I mean, as foul, deformed and as cruelly crushed as any other part thereof—by your only gracious and religious order to be cured, or at least amended. I would not have believed, had I not for a great part viewed the same throughout the whole Realm, and was advertised of the particular estate of the Church in the bishopric of Meath (being the best inhabited country of all this Realm) by the honest, zealous, and learned bishop of the same, Mr. Hugh Bradye, a godly Minister for the Gospel and a good servant to your Highness, who went from church to church himself and found that there are within his diocese 224 parish churches, of which number 105 are impropriated to sundry possessions now of your Highness—and all leased out for years or in fee farm to several Fermors, and great gain reaped out of them, above the rent which your Majesty

receiveth. No Parson or Vicar resident upon any of them, and a very simple or sorry curate, for the most part, appointed to serve therein. Among which number of curates, only eighteen were found able to speak English—the rest Irish priests or rather Irish rogues, having very little Latin, less learning and civility. All these live upon the bare alterages, as they term them (which God knoweth are very small) and were wont to live upon the gain of masses, dirges, shrivings and such like trumpery, godly abolished by your Majesty. No one house standing for any of them to dwell in. In many places the very walls of the churches down, very few chancels covered, windows and doors ruined or spoiled. There are 52 other parish churches more in the same diocese [of Meath]—who have vicars endowed upon them—better served and maintained than the other, yet but badly. There are 52 parish churches more—residue of the first number of 224—which pertain to divers particular Lords. And these, though in better estate than the rest, commonly are yet far from well. If this be the estate of the churches in the best peopled diocese, and best governed country of this your Realm (as in troth it is), easy it is for your Majesty to conjecture in what case the rest is, where little or no Reformation, either of Religion or manners, hath yet been planted and continued among them.

Yea ; so prophane and heathenish are some parts of this your country become, as it hath been preached publicly before me that the sacrament of Baptism is not used among them, and truly I believe it. If I should write unto your Majesty what spoil hath been and is of the archbishoprics, whereof there are four, and of the bishoprics, whereof there are above thirty, partly by the prelates themselves, partly by the

Potentates, their noisome neighbours, I should make too long a libel of this my letter. But your Majesty may believe it, that upon the face of the earth, where Christ is professed, there is not a church in so miserable a case. The misery of which consisteth in these three particulars:—1. The ruin of the very temples themselves: 2. The want of good Ministers to serve in them, when they shall be re-edified: 3. Competent living for the Ministers, being well chosen.

For the first—Let it like your most gracious Majesty to write earnestly to me—and to whom else it may best please you—to examine in whom the fault is that the churches are so ruinous. If it be found in the country or Fermors, to compel them speedily to go about the amendment of them. If the fault, for the churches of your Highness' inheritance, be not in the Fermors, nor they bound to repair them (and the most ruined of them are such as are of your possession) it may like you to grant warrant that some portion may yearly—of the revenues of every parsonage—be bestowed on the church of the same.

For the second and third, which is that good ministers might be found to occupy the places, and they made able to live in them. In choice of which ministers for the remote places where the English tongue is not understood, it is most necessary that such be chosen as can speak Irish. For which, search would be made, first and speedily, in your own Universities. And any found there, well affected in Religion and well conditioned beside, they would be sent hither animated by your Majesty. Yea, though it were somewhat to your Highness' charge, and on peril of my life, you shall find it returned with gain before three years be expired.



If there be no such there, or not enough (for I wish ten or twelve, at the least) to be sent, who might be placed in offices of dignity in the Church in remote places of this Realm, then do I wish—but this most humbly, under your Highness' correction—that you would write unto the Regent of Scotland, where, as I learn, there are many of the reformed Church that are of this language, that he would prefer to your Highness so many as shall seem good to you to demand of honest, zealous and learned men, and that could speak this language. And though for a while your Majesty were at some charge, it were well bestowed, for in short time their own preferments would be able to suffice them, and in the mean time thousands would be gained to Christ, that now are lost, or left at the worst.

And for the ministry of the churches of the English Pale, of your own inheritance, be contented, most virtuous Queen, that some convenient portion for a Minister may be allowed to him out of the Fermors' rents. It will not be much loss to you in your revenue, but gain otherwise inestimable. And yet the decay of your rent [will be] but for a while, for the years once expired of the leases already granted, there is no doubt but that to be granted to the Church will be recovered with increase.

I wish and most humbly beseech your Majesty that there may be three or four grave, learned and venerable personages of the Clergy there, be sent hither, who in short space, being here, would sensibly perceive the enormities of this overthrown Church, and easily prescribe orders for the repair and upholding of the same, which I hope God would confirm, and I find no difficulty but that your officer here might

execute the same. Cause the bishops of that your Realm to undertake this Apostleship, and that upon their own charges. They be rich enough, and if either they be thankful to your Majesty for your immense bounty done to them, or zealous to increase the Christian flock, they will not refuse this honourable and religious travail. I will undertake their guiding and guarding honourably and safely from place to place. The great desire that I have to have such from thence is for that I hope to find them not only grave in judgment but void of affection.

I most humbly beseech your Majesty to accept these my rude letters as figures of a zealous mind for reformation of this your Church and country, wherein methinketh I work waywardly when the latter is preferred before the former. When I had thus come to an end of this my evil scribbled letters of my own staggering hand, I was ashamed to suffer the same to be sent to your Majesty, but made my man to write it out again, for which I most humbly crave pardon as for the rest of this my tedious petition.

And thus—from the bottom of my heart wishing your Majesty the long continuance of your most prosperous and godly reign over us, your most happy subjects—as a most faithful and obedient servant, I recommend myself and service to your most excellent Majesty. From your Highness' Castle of Dublin, the 28th of April, 1576. Your Majesty's faithful, humble and obedient servant, H. SYDNEY.

## XII.

*Sir H. Sydney to the Privy Council, recommending the banishment of the Earl of Clanrickard from Connaught, and the confiscation of his lands.*

1576, July 9.

[Abstract.]

Sir H. Sydney, when on the point of setting out for Waterford to install Sir William Drury as President of Munster, hears that Clanrickard's sons—Ulick and John Burke—had rebelled and burnt Athenry. He dashes down upon them. The young Burkes fly to the mountains. Clanrickard comes to Sydney to Athlone, and on his knees—in the parish church—implores pardon for himself and them. Sydney receives him sternly—makes no promises—hopes shortly to have “the bastard brats” dead or in his hands—and is very anxious the Queen should now seize Clanrickard's lands and extirpate him and his from Connaught. Unless the Queen consents to decided steps, Sydney, for his part, will only “trundle Sisyphus' stone” and she will “lose honour and treasure.”

## XIII.

*Lord Burghley and the Privy Council in England to Sir H. Sydney, conveying the Queen's reply to the requests which he had forwarded to Her Majesty in his letter concerning the state of the Irish Church.*

1576, July 10.

[Abstract.]

Burghley intimates that although it is true that a sound state of religion “is the very foundation of all civil government, and so necessary as, without it, no

commonwealth may long stand," yet, considering all circumstances it has been thought more meet by her Majesty and us, even for the very furtherance of the cause, that you should first consult the [Irish ?] Council upon these matters and reduce your opinion to such heads as the cause will bear, and to send over hither some persons well instructed and otherwise well acquainted with that government, as for such a purpose we can very well think of Sir Luke Dillon and Mr. Agard—being of each nation one.

#### XIV.

*Lord Chancellor Gerrard to Walsingham, expressing his belief that Martial Government of the Irish was the only way to effect a thorough Reformation. From Dublin.*

1577, February 8.

[Abstract.]

If the Deputy can keep Ireland with a small garrison, it is well. But in my opinion—so writes the Irish Chancellor—"if, in ten years passed, the Governours had been enabled to subject the whole Irishry to the sword—which manner of government, if ever Ireland shall be thoroughly reformed, must be practised—Ireland had been in other terms of wealth and obedience than it is this day."

The Irish counties must be brought under law by degrees, as the Queen will not go to the cost of military operations on a large scale, and the Pale must be stretched gradually further.

## XV.

*Sir William Drury, Lord President of Munster, to Walsingham, the Queen's Principal Secretary of State, describing the religious condition of Waterford and its neighbourhood. From Waterford.*

1577, April 16.

[Extracts.]

James Fitzmaurice is at Rome and is expected to be in Waterford in Harvest time. "He is sure of the favour and good-will of the whole Peers of the Realm whom we call Earls of Ireland."

Drury mentions:—"the students of Ireland that are in Louvain, and come from thence. They are the merest traitors and breeders of treachery that liveth, by whose means I doubt not James [Fitzmaurice] hath much favour in Rome."

"Whereof there are in these parts, about Waterford and Clonmel, four principal prelates.

The first is called John White, who is worshipped like a God, between Kilkenny and Waterford and Clonmel. He suborneth all the dwellers of those parts to detest the true religion, stablished by her Majesty. He is a chief preacher to the contrary, an arrogant enemy to the gospel, and one that denieth all duties to her Majesty. If he were not, and his auricular teaching were not, one nobleman, to the comfort of a great number, should be converted from this Popery. He said, over in Bristol, that he would be our inquisitor in England to burn a thousand in England for religion."

"He wrote several letters unto my brother, most contemptuous, menacing him for the religion by his writings: then I suspect he wrote part of those letters unto James out of Ireland."

"The second is James Archer, of Kilkenny, a detestable enemy to the word of God. He did swear against her Majesty's jurisdiction in Louvain, and to read not in no English book. He arrived the last March and came then out of Louvain."

"The third is Doctor Quemerford, of Waterford, also of late come out of Louvain. He and all the rest taught all the way betwixt Rye and Bristol against the religion, and caused a number to despair."

"The fourth is Chaunter Walsh of Waterford, one that hath procured dispensation of the Pope to use the English service, to receive benefits from the same, and to abjure himself without hurting his conscience. He came over last March. He preached praying to Saints and going on pilgrimages. Belike they are come over as Reformators of Living before the coming of that wicked limb James."

"There are a great number of students of this city [Waterford] in Louvain, at the charge of their friends and fathers. They will never come hither before a change, which God grant them not."

"By whom and by the others aforesaid the proud and undutiful inhabitors of this town are so cankered in Popery, undutiful to her Majesty, slandering the gospel publicly as well this side the sea as beyond in England, that they fear not God nor man, and hath their altars, painted images and candlesticks, in derision of the Gospel, every day in their Synagogues, so detestable that they may be called the unruly neuters rather than subjects."

"Masses infinite they have in their several churches every morning, without any fear. I have spied them, for I chanced to arrive last Sunday at 5 in the clock in the morning, and saw them resort out of the Churches

by heaps. This is shameful in a reformed city, but I judge them rather enemies than subjects. Let it not deceive you, although they should make their vaunt to be as true to her Majesty without conscience as others with conscience."

## XVI.

*Sir W. Drury's letter from Waterford to the Privy Council at Dublin, reporting, inter alia, that about four hundred persons, including a Friar and a Brehon, had been executed by Justice and Martial Law within his Province of Munster in the short space of about a year and nine months which had elapsed since his entry into his office.*

1578, March 24.

[Abstract.]

"There have been, to my judgment, since my first entry into office, about four hundred executed by Justice and Martial Law within this province, among the which some have been so notorious and so well allied, and one so dear to James Fitzmaurice, as when he heard of his death, he wept, for whom and for others as also for one Cormac Doune, of late hanged in chains for a murder, I could have had large sums to have consented to their pardoning, if I could have regarded more mine own commodity than the profits of the commonwealth."

"Among the which a Friar was of late apprehended, arraigned and hanged in his habit, at Limerick, for having about him certain letters with blanks, and the seals of several Abbeys and Friaries in this province, with letters of commendation to the Provincial of Portugal, importing seditious practices to be intended and he as a trusty messenger sent to negotiate."

He was apprehended, being ready to depart to the sea into Portugal from the river of Limerick, for whose life also a good sum would have been given.

A judge also of Rory Oge's, termed a Brehon, who was much esteemed among the common people, and taught and practised only such laws as are repugnant to her Majesty's laws, was likewise hanged at Limerick.

On Drury's way to Waterford from Limerick, he held sessions at Cashel and Clonmel, where ten were executed for Treason & felony & one was pressed to death.

James Fitzmaurice and "one calling himself an Archbishop of this realm" at sea fell to piracy, taking an Englishman, and sending the men that were aboard to the house of Inquisition, terming them to be evil Christians, where it was alleged they were executed—the traitor affirming that he was authorized so to do by the Pope.

Intelligence had been received "That he [Fitzmaurice] was of late at sea in a bark of Crosswick, which he hired in Portugal, accompanied with one that pretended to be an archbishop in this realme, with David Wolfe and 60 of his own household, recruits," &c. &c.

## XVII.

*Nicholas Walsh, bishop of Ossory, to the Lord Justice, concerning the measures for compelling attendance at church during the time of Divine service, and asking liberty to go to England.*

1578, November 14.

[Extract.]

"Nicholas the scarcrowe busshopp of Ossory"



writes from Kilkenny to the Lord Justice, thanking him for his letter or "precept to the Commissioners here touching the taking of bonds, to follow your Lordship, of such as denied the acknowledgment of the recognizance taken by your honour of them, that they should come to their parish churches and there remain during the time of service."

He asks licence to go to England, "and thirty or forty pounds sterling to bear my charges to and fro, together with letters to your friends in Court, to further my lawful requests."

#### XVIII.

*The objections and complaints which Archbishop Loftus and the Irish bishops forwarded to England against Ackworth and Garvey, the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical matters, and against the Commission itself.*

1578.

[Abstract.]

The Commission of Faculties granted in 1577 to George Ackworth, Doctor of Civil Law, and Robert Garvey, was very displeasing to archbishop Loftus and his friends, as it deprived him of much of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction and of the emoluments therefrom arising.

Dr. Ackworth was, it seems, a clergyman put from his living in England for inordinate life. Garvey was neither in orders of the ministry nor Doctor of Laws.

The Commissioners had authority—

1. To grant all manner of licences, dispensations, compositions, including all such as may be granted by act of Parliament 28 Hen. VIII. entitled an "Act of Faculties."
2. To compel such as hold any ecclesiastical benefices to shew their letters of orders, titles, dispensations, &c.—and, finding them defective, —to revoke and dis-annul them at their pleasure and to pronounce the benefices void.
3. To institute such as be nominated, and presented by her Majesty, by means of devolution.
4. To hear and determine all double quarrels and suits and causes of devolution.
5. To prove Testaments and grant administrations and sequestrations of all persons deceased in Ireland, and to grant probates of wills.
6. To enforce their judgments by the use of Ecclesiastical censures, &c.

In a "Note of certain defects and inconveniences in said Commission," it is objected—

1. That it is not lawful for the Deputy to grant such a dispensation.
2. That besides the authority to examine the right of ecclesiastical persons to their benefices, promotions and dignities, there is committed unto them a general visitation over the whole ecclesiastical state, as well over Archbishops and Bishops as the rest of the clergy, to the discredit and to the disagreement of the Archbishops and bishops of that Realm, who have been heretofore in trust with that charge. They have also power to remove incumbents, of what estate soever they be, from possession of their livings, with authority (as is supposed)

bear the name of bishops in Ireland, live not in that order and degree of dependancy of her Majesty's authority and law, as the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin [Lancaster and Loftus] and the bishops of Meath and Ossory [Brady and Nicholas Walsh] do; and for as much as some men do without Letters Patent intrude themselves into bishoprics in that land, as Cornelius O'Brenan, a Layman, did into the bishopric of Ross Carbury in the county of Cork, and Tirrelagh O'Brien, a Layman likewise, into the bishopric of Kilfenoragh in Thomond, and some others usurp the name of bishoprics by Bulls from the Pope, as Edmund Tanner the name of bishop of Cork, and Malachias Maldoney the name of bishop of Killaloe [Malachy O'Molony was translated by the Pope from Killaloe to Kilmacduagh in 1576], it is very necessary that her Majesty's Commissioners should have authority to call such before them, to shew by what title they hold the said bishoprics, to the end the same may be certified to her Majesty's Deputy." The Commissioners themselves had no power to deprive *bishops*, whom "the Prince only" could remove.

Loftus and the bishops alleged that the Commissioners "have dispensed with such a crime as by no law is dispensable, viz., with simony, committed by Sir Wm. Kehoe, Priest, Archdeacon of Ossory."

To this Garvey answers :—

"The said Kehoe, when the Archdeaconry of Ossory became void, being a living of the bishop of Ossory's collation, was a suitor to Christopher [Gafney], late bishop there [from 1565 to 1576], for the same, and because the bishop would not bestow it upon him without consideration, although he was a grave, learned, antient and sufficient man for such a living, he gave

the bishop some money.—And doubting the same should afterwards be laid to his charge, and he therefore deprived of his living, he obtained dispensation for the said simony of the most reverend Father Edmund, now bishop of Canterbury [Edmund Grindal, abp. Cant. 1576 to 1583] before her Majesty's commission for Faculties was granted in Ireland. In which dispensation certain defects were found by the learned council of the said Keho. And after her Majesty's commission was granted in Ireland, the said Keho sued them to have a like dispensation, but with the addition of material words left out of his said former dispensation, whereunto the Commissioners assented, both for that it might be done by law, and that of such dispensations they had seen the former precedent and other precedents besides, and also that the fault was more the bishop's that urged him to it, than his that unwillingly paid the money. Of which sort of bishops there be some more in Ireland, and namely Matthew, [Sheyne, bp. 1572 to 1582] bishop of Cork, who being charged by the said Commissioners and detected unto them that he sold the livings of his diocese to horsemen and kerne, answered both privately to them, and openly in a sermon, made in the Church of Cork before Sir Wm. Drury, knight, Lord President of Munster, [from June 1576 to 1578] and the said Commissioners and the whole audience then present, that except he sold the livings of his collation he were not able to live, his bishopric was so poor."

The bishops also objected "that the said Commissioners dispensed with one Robert Gafney, that was ordered [ordained] *more Romano*, that he should have the execution of his orders, notwithstanding his offence."

"I answer," rejoins Garvey, "that the said Gafney took his orders by the licence and with the commendation of his Ordinary (the late bishop of Ossory, [Christopher Gafney bishop from 1565 to 1576] who never gave orders himself) and was tolerated in his said orders, and had execution of them a good while after he took them, both by his Ordinary and Metropolitan. And when her Majesty's Commission was published at Kilkenny, the said Gafney resorted to the Commissioners, expressing great sorrow and repentance for his offence, submitting himself to her Majesty's authority, and praying to be by the same enabled to execute his orders, from the which indeed he was never actually suspended. And for that the said Gafney, every Sunday and Holyday resorted to the Cathedral church at Kilkenny, and in the Quire there said and sung service in English, with the other Ministers, according to the order of the Book of Common Prayer, and being Schoolmaster in the said town virtuously instructed the youth of the town and country without stipend, and lived in as strait conformity to her Majesty's laws and injunctions as any one within that town—the said Commissioners, at the said Gafney's humble suit, dispensed with him, that he should have the execution of his orders, both for the causes aforesaid and also for that there is so little choice of sufficient men for the service of the church in that country, as if he were removed so good and necessary a man could not there be found to supply his place."

"So I confess that of the great number of priests ordered as aforesaid, and admitted by the bishops in that land to serve in their several dioceses, the Commissioners dispensed with one only, moved with the reasonable causes above specified."

The bishops had admitted to livings "boyes, kearne, laymen and other incapable persons." Some of these were deprived by the Commissioners, as for instance "George Cusack, a lay serving man, usurper" of Kentstown, in Meath ; and "Lucas Plunket, prentice to a vintner in Dublin," who had Killavy, a parish of which the Baron of Slane was patron ; and "Robert Nugent, a horseman of the Baron of Delvin's retinue" who held Galtrim ; and "John Barnewall, a young boy of Dublin" who had Kilmessan.

Garvey acknowledges that the Commissioners gave Mothel vicarage to Thomas, son of Edmond Power, the impropiator, with a dispensation for seven years' minority, Thomas being a boy of ten years of age.

The archbishop of Canterbury had authority to give dispensations, or faculties, for Ireland as well as for England. The Commissioners had the same power in Ireland as the archbishop of Canterbury had in England.

The Commission—says Garvey—"in great part tendeth to correct the oversights and errors of the ordinaries" themselves, and therefore the bishops were unfit to serve on the Commission.

There were no such faults committed in England to make a similar Commission necessary for England.

Ackworth was an LL.D. Garvey was M.A. and LL.B.



## XX.

*Archbishop Loftus replies to Garvey, repeating his accusations against the Commissioners, and taxing them with admitting to benefices persons who did not take the oath of supremacy.*

1579, January 6.

[Extracts.]

The Commission was published in the provinces of Armagh, Dublin and Cashel, but not, as Mr. Garvey would have it thought, either with good contentation of the clergy or at the Commissioners' charges, but with great burthen of the country—all the clergy appearing before them and paying extraordinary fees for shewing their institutions and faculties, besides the burthen of the sequestration of fruits, wherewith was touched all the benefices of some one diocese, as namely the diocese of Cork.

No one would have resorted to the Commissioners except they had "been feared, by the Commissioners, with imperfections pretended to their titles and faculties."

Robert Gafney (whose "orders were given by one that had no authority thereto," and to whose ordination the Commissioners had no more power to give force, than to confer orders themselves)—was "very ignorant, utterly void of knowledge of God and his religion, not able to performe any duty of a schoolmaster as is pretended, nor any want of such supply in the diocese of Ossory at all."

"There have been a great sorte admitted by them [the Commissioners] to benefices without takinge the oathe of her Majestie's tytle, whose names I wilbe ereadye to declare when I shalbe thereto required."

## XXI.

*Mr. Garvey, in another reply to the complaint of Loftus, mentions certain Papal Commissioners, who executed their office in Ireland.*

1579, January 7.

[Extracts.]

There was "no disposition in the Ordinaries themselves to reform and amend" abuses.

"Before this Commission was granted, one Robert [query David ?] Wolfe had a Commission from the Pope to grant licences and dispensations in Ireland, and did execute the same in the west part of that Realm, dangerously seducing the subjects and making them believe that their licences and dispensations were to be obtained of him. A like Commission was exercised by one Redmund Gallechor, supposed bishop of Rapotensis [Redmond Gallagher was bishop of Derry from 1569 to 1601], in the north part of the said land. To repress which Commissions, and the authority of them being already, for good causes, condemned and abolished by the laws of that land, it was thought good by the express words of this Commission, to take authority from all other commissions, granted or to be granted for granting of any dispensations saving from this."

## XXII.

*The Petition of Archbishop Loftus.*

1579, February 20.

[Abstract.]

Loftus, having been ten weeks in England, prays



for his discharge for Ireland. He had been active in opposing the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and they seem to have opposed him with equal activity. Loftus, perhaps, wished to be himself a Commissioner, but Garvey would not act as Joint-commissioner with any bishop. Loftus requests to be furnished with instructions to the Deputy to enforce the statutes for "erection of schools," repairing churches, placing curates on impropriations, and for "compelling noblemen and gentlemen to go to church."

These requests of Loftus resulted in the issue of a memorandum, dated the 22nd of February, which is called a "Note to the Lord Justice of Ireland for some order to be taken in matters touching the Pastoral care of that Realm."

### XXIII.

*Sir William Pelham, Lord Justice, to Walsingham, giving an account of the Church in Ireland, and recommending the removal of bishop Middleton from Waterford to Ferns. From Trim.*

1579, December 7.

[Extracts.]

I desire, writes Pelham, to put you "in mind of the miserable state of the clergy of this land, among which I cannot but marvel to see so few able ministers, or so little order taken for their maintenance. I have heard it constantly affirmed by the bishop of Meath [Hugh Brady] in whose diocese this town [Trim] standeth, that some one of her Majesty's farmers of parsonages impropriate near to this place, hath sixteen benefices

in his hands, and amongst those not one vicar or minister maintained that can read English or understand Latin, or give any good instruction to his parishioners."

Among those few that deserve good opinion, the bishop of Waterford [Marmaduke Middleton] is one that hath been lately placed by her Majesty, and hath since received many injuries, partly through the contemptuous and obstinate behaviour of the Mayor [Sir Patrick Walsh] and his brethren of that city, and partly by the clergy of that church, namely the Deane, one Clere [David Cleere], who hath been heretofore commended into England to be bishop of Ferns, but as his behaviour deserveth rather to be deprived of the dignitie which he now enjoyeth, so a time may serve for the reforming of the townsmen there who are the most arrogant Papists that live within this state. In the mean time, since Mr. [James] Proctor of Salisbury, who, as I have heard was elected to Ferns, 'doth not mean to accept it,' . . . "I could wish the bishop of Waterford [Middleton] were appointed thither."

#### XXIV.

*Articles exhibited against Sir John Bale (or Ball, nephew to Lord Chancellor Weston), clerk, Commissary to the archbishop (Loftus) of Dublin.*

1580, January 6.

[Extracts.]

*Item.* It is to be noted that he, being neither divine nor civilian, is promoted to the office of Archdeacon of Glandalough, the Commissaryship of the Diocese

of Dublin, and to the Parsonage of the New Castell—being greatly suspected to be a Papist or else a newter, which is worse.

*Item.* That for his licentious life, being complained of by many, and also suspected and presented to the Lord Chancellor [Weston], Dean of St. Patrick's, for the same, by the oath of the Vicars of the said church, who are sworn to present the misdemeanours in the same, for fornication with one Cicely Fletcher, a woman of evil conversation, notwithstanding he is married and hath his wife there, which kind of living largely bewraies his religion—Lechery being incident to Popery—yet by the sufferance of the dean, being his uncle, he is winked at, to the maintenance of others as evil disposed as himself, and to the great grief of true hearted subjects to see such apparent vices unpunished in their commonwealth.

*Item.* And being Commissary, and having any rich man of the country in the censures of the church for fornication, adultery, or any like offence—wherewith a great number be odiously infested and therefore would [should] be more severely punished—he absolves them for money in the fields, and in other secret places, to color their crimes with the Pope's absolution—Absolvo te, &c., and hath been seen and heard of credible persons giving that absolution on horseback in the fields—the penitent kneeling before him—which is his common practice, to get money as he visits in the country.

*Item.* When any “woman that is fair and well favoured comes before him for fornication or the like crime, he never hears the cause in open court, but appoints her his chamber for hearing, where, for his filthy pleasure gained with her, he absolves her offences;

as is well known by the above named Cicely Fletcher," &c.

*Item.* He is a drunkard—a devilish and detestable briber—and backbiter—and flatterer—an envier and hinderer of good men—&c.

*Item.* "He refuseth to wear a surplice in the time of Cathedral service."

"He is not contented with his own stall next the Chanter, but hath installed his wife in the seat next unto him."

N.B.—This man was recommended by Loftus (in a letter dated 6th of January, 1580) to Burghley for the office of registrar to and collector of fines under the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.

## XXV.

*Marmaduke Middleton, bishop of Waterford and Lismore, to Walsingham, describing the state of the church in Waterford. From Waterford.*

1580, June 29.

[Extracts.]

"Such is the miserable state of this wretched city [Waterford], that all things are done contrary to the sacred word and blessed will of the Lord, and also her Majesty's most godly proceedings in causes spiritual.—The Gospel of God utterly abhorred—the church, in time of divine service, of all hands eschewed (*nisi a paucis et id forma tantum*).—The sacraments contemned and refused—Massing in every corner—No burial of the dead according to the Book of Common Prayer, but buried in their houses with diriges [diriges]

and after cast into the ground like dogs.—Rome-runners and Friars maintained amongst them.—Public wearing of beads and praying upon the same.—Worshipping of images and setting them openly in their street doors, with ornaments and deckings. Ringing of bells and praying for the dead, and dressing their graves divers times in the year with flower pots and wax candles.—No marriage agreeing with God's law and her Majesty's proceedings, for either they marry in houses with masses, or else before two or three laymen without any minister taking of hands, and so they live as man and wife.—No punishment for this or any other sin.—The windows and walls of the churches full of images.—They will not deface them, and I dare not, for fear of a tumult.—None of the women do come either to service or sermons.—And to conclude, virtue is rejected and all vice embraced. This, Right Honourable, is the lamentable condition of this proud and and haughty city of Waterford.—God convert their hearts."

The greatest supporter of this is he, which was, the last year, Mayor, whose name is Sir Patrick Walsh, a counterfeit Christian, and a great enemy of God's truth. And [he] is coming over to obtain something of her Majesty to maintain his knighthood withal, As hypocrites and crafty enemies of the Gospel are to be eschewed and taken heed of, so are they not to be preferred, lest their force might be strengthened the better to work their malice; wherein I dare be bold to say, no man exceedeth the said Sir Patrick, with whom, the living God knoweth—the whole city are partakers, for there is no obedience in any of them concerning any of her Majesty's proceedings, but in those points, wherein if they should fail, it may touch

their lives, goods and lands. That obedience deserveth no thanks, much less any reward.

He speaks of the "stiffnecked, stubborn, papistical and incorrigible people of the city of Waterford."

"There is no difference betwixt the clergy and the layalty [laity] here, for they have joined together to prevent her Majesty's most godly proceedings—both by defacing of the see, which is not annually, at this instant, worth thirty pounds a year, and all the spiritual living in temporal men's hands so sure linked that they cannot be redeemed. And the most of the incumbents [are] little better than Wood Kerne, so that neither the bishoprick is able to maintain a bishop, neither the spiritual livings fit for any honest men. This is pitiful and lamentable hearing."

The Lord Justice Pelham (Middleton proceeds to say) wished lately to prefer me to the bishoprick of Ferns, as quieter than this, and because I was in danger here from the Papists. He mentioned also, in a letter to you about it, one David Clere, dean of Waterford, as a suitor for the same bishoprick, and "his unworthiness, both for his wicked life, want of knowledge, weakness of religion," &c. "I know the man," observes Middleton, "his life, doctrine and conversation (because he is dean in my church) better than some others. In religion he is but a hypocrite and by nature malicious. Neither a preacher, neither hath he sufficiency thereto—An arguer, with that little knowledge he hath, against the truth. This man I hold an unfit bishop, yet so well friended, as none better in this world than the wicked, as both his preferment shall be sought, and who shall withstand him shall hazard a

displeasure. God knoweth we have too many such bishops in Ireland."

## XXVI.

*Sir Nicholas Malby to Walsingham, concerning the general rebellion in Ireland, of which he alleges Religion to be the cause. From Dublin.*

1580, September 7.

[Extract.]

The rebellion is now general throughout the Realm. Tirlough Lynagh threatens Dundalk with 6,000 men. O'Rourke is in arms again in Roscommon, and Malby must hasten back to Athlone. "I perceive," says Malby, "by your Lordship's last letters, that the Irish complaints have good hearing there. I am sorry for it, and hard is it for us that serve, when rebels' tales and the surmises of such as be friends to rebels, shall work us disadvantage, and misliking, for so often adventuring of our lives, which we do only in respect of our duty to her Majesty. No man can hold it for a pastime, neither will any man of discretion desire to govern by fighting if it may be done by honest policy. But my hap is worse of any man's in that I hear it is said I use the sword over severely. I am sorry I have spared it so much, and if it be not used more sharply than hitherto it has been, her Majesty is like to lose both sword and realm. It is now a quarrel of religion and the expectation of foreign aid doth much further it."

## XXVII.

*Captain Thomas Clinton to Mr. James Golde, her Majesty's Attorney for Munster, informing him that*

*some old bishops, who had been sometime in Ireland, were chief leaders of the rebels. From Carrick Cowlagh.*

1580, September 26.

[Extract.]

"By all I can gather, they will not fall out to be 600 men. Their companies greeth much upon old bishops that have been sometime here, and priests and friars, which, as I can learn, are their chief leaders. God send the Queen's ships about in time to dispatch the beggars of their hopes by sea."

#### XXVIII.

*Sir W. Gerrard, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to Burghley, accusing Clanrickard of complicity in the rebellion. From Dublin.*

1580, October 7.

[Extract.]

"If Clanrickard had received his reward, who is now known four years past to be combined to the bringing in of foreign invasion, this Munster rebellion had never fallen."

#### XXIX.

*Arthur Lord Grey, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in a private letter to the Queen, recommends the extirpation of Popery as the remedy for Irish difficulties. From Dublin.*

1580, December 22.

[Extract.]

Lord Grey notes Kildare's fault which he lays on



the Baron of Delvin, "whose obstinate affection to Popery hath now approved him unsafe to himself, unsound to friends, disloyal to Prince, and false to God. Such is the yield of such seed, which would to God were not so plenty in this land. Your Majesty must be careful therefore to root it out, otherwise without heepe of care, men and treasure, and continued wars, never account to sway this Government."

"Your Highness at my leavetaking gave me a warning for being strict in dealing with religion. I have observed it, how obediently soever yet most unwillingly I confess, and I doubt as harmfully to your and God's service—a canker never receiving cure without corrosive medicines."

### XXX.

*Sir N. Malby to Walsingham, informing him that the Burkes had masses said and holy water sprinkled in the fort of Loughrea, after they had taken it. From Athlone.*

1580, October 29.

[Extract.]

"The dean of Clonfert is here with me, and doth tell me that John and William Burke have sent word to him, and the priests there, to say mass, or else he will hang them and burn the church; and tells me further that John and William heard eighteen masses the day before he surprised the house of Loughrea, and after the house won, he had mass said in every

corner of the house and holy water cast about all the house; and all is done in name and honour of the Pope."

## XXXI.

*Geoffrey Fenton, Secretary of State at Dublin, to Walsingham, informing him that the Deputy and Council were unwilling, through fear of the consequences, to disgrace the Earl of Ormond. From Dublin.*

1581, April 2.

[Extract.]

Her Majesty's letter commands us "to depose the Lord of Ormond from his pay and place. We have thought good to defer the execution thereof till the Lord Deputy has reasoned with her Majesty the broken condition of all things here, and to what dangerous harms might be provoked a mind so irregular and haughty, being on the sudden called to disgrace in the face of his country."

The reason for this resolution is laid down at large in a separate packet "drawn from the disposition of the time and the backward humour of the man."

It may please your honour to expostulate with her Majesty, that for passion or private instigation the good course of her service here be not corrupted, though there is none of us who think not the party worthy to bear a far worse blow and discountenance.

Hereafter in a more due season, her highness may restrain and limit him in sort as it may best like her, for the which she shall be sure never to want good occasion.

## XXXII

*Lord Grey, Lord Lieutenant, to Walsingham, complaining of the neglect of measures to enforce religion, and stating that he himself had been cautioned not to be too careful in carrying out the laws for Reformation of the Church. From Dublin.*

1581, April 24.

[Extract.]

Her Majesty thinks nothing is done here. "The fault is certainly this. The wrong end is begun at. Rebellion and disobedience to the Prince's word are chiefly regarded and reformation sought of. But God's cause is made a second or nothing at all. And be itself the witness. For the many challenges and instructions that I have received for the civil and political government and care taking to the husbandry of worldly treasure, where is there one article that concerns the looking to God's due service—seeing of his church fed with true food—and repressing of superstition and idolatory, wherewith the groves of Canaan were surely no more filled nor infested than this lamentable Ireland is? Nay rather have I not been watchworded that I should not be too eey full [eye-ful *i.e.* watchful] therein. And I confess my sin. I have followed man too much in it, and this [is] the cause that neither the chief can hearken to that that concerns both honour and safety most—nor you that persuade the truth be believed—nor I that desire the right can be satisfied. But Baal's prophets and councillors shall prevail. I see it is so. I see it is just. I see it past help. I rest despaired. Help me away again for God's sake."

## XXXIII.

*Lord Grey, the Deputy, to the Council in England, reporting his progress through Carlow and Wexford in pursuit of McHugh.* From Dublin.

1581, July 10.

[Abstract.]

Lord Grey writes that he has made a progress through Carlow and Wexford, cutting up Feagh McHugh's people and bringing him to sue for terms of peace. McHugh, nevertheless, was very haughty, insisting that he may "use what religion he liked." [This is almost the first occurrence of any conditions touching religion, in the State Papers of this period. In the innumerable conventions with the Irish chiefs, religion, so far, was never mentioned—and it may be hence concluded that then religion was not interfered with.] The Deputy of course refused the haughty overtures of McHugh, but could not pursue him farther on that occasion.

## XXXIV.

*Lord Grey to Walsingham, mentioning the unsafe position of Archbishop Loftus, and his own misery.* From Dublin.

1581, July 3.

[Abstract.]

If, on their pardon, the Lords of the Pale, Kildare and others, are to be released, the Archbishop of Dublin will be murdered. He lives now in a quasi

imprisonment in my [the Deputy's] house, or he would have been a dead man before this. Prefer him if possible to Ely or some other bishoprick in England. Fifteen days later Lord Grey writes again to Walsingham, saying that he is living in a hell upon earth—half the soldiers dying of sickness—the other half clamouring for pay—and the people dying for want of food.

### XXXV.

*Andrew Trollope, an English lawyer, to Walsingham, relating his ideas concerning Ireland. From Dublin.*

1581, September 12.

[Extracts.]

Arrived in Ireland July 8, and lodged in a lawyer's house in Dublin "where I found my entertainment better than my welcome, as all Englishmen shall do."

"Another lawyer, who married the gentlewoman's sister of the house, a man of a very mild countenance, smooth tongue, familiar and affable, as all Irishmen are, came to me and carried me into the garden, where he subtly sought to understand my gifts of nature, bringing up, ability, cause of travel, and what news in England. I fed his humour as much as I might, and thereby learnt of him the miserable state of Ireland, and that all judges of the law, her Majesty's Chancellor [John Bathe] and Barons of the Exchequer, and counsel learned, and such as execute inferior offices (with few exceptions), were all Irishmen, and Papists as all Irishmen be. And it is most certain that the Irishmen so little regard God and less her

Majesty and her subjects, as if they cannot, dare not, or will not seem to be rebels, they will by no means do her Majesty or Englishmen good, except it be by colour thereof to work a further mischief, as the killing of M [illegible] and McCartie by John of Desmond, who was gossip to the one and sworn brother to the other. If the Irish Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen were as dutiful as they would seem, then roguish rebels could never have spoiled her Majesty's subjects, country and treasure, as they have done."

Phelim McToole and his brother in law Feagh MacHugh spoil the country to the gates of Dublin. Sir Wm. Stanley, on the 10th of August, sent eight of their heads to Dublin. Feagh McToole's brother was in the Deputy's hands as his pledge. Phelim was told if he did not submit, his brother should be hanged. He said he did not care, and his brother was hanged. Afterwards Feagh McHugh and others pretended to submit and took out pardons. But all men of experience believe that these pardons will only lead to a worse war bye and bye. They only desire now to get in their corne, and they will break out again. Meanwhile they murder privately every one who was loyal to the Queen during the rebellion. Every Irishman who gets a pardon makes his account to be pardoned again, as often as he wishes, let him murder, burn and rob whom he lists.

"And they never did or will delight in anything else than murder, treason, theft and mischief, which their countenances now at this instant, at their coming in, make apparent. For if they meet an Englishman or twayne walking in the street, they shake their heads, they rouse themselves in their lowsy mantles, and advance themselves on tip toe, as who would say we

are those that have done all this mischief, what say you to us ? And sure upon conference they will spare no arrogant or lewd speech.

No doubt but that if it please her Majesty and her honourable council, with less loss of subjects, treasure or travail than her Highness hath sustained within this year past, all the Irish open rebels might be destroyed, and the secret close rebels so kept under that all would be honest and civil subjects.

The cause why it hath not so been is that Irishmen have been in over much authority, too much trusted, favoured and preferred. For a great part of these two years the direction of her Majesty's soldiers has been committed to Irishmen which have done little good. Where any Irishman is put in trust, there shall never Englishman, spiritual or temporal, dwell long in quiet by him. If he be not murdered, he shall be by some means robbed or spoiled, as the burning of the bishop [Hugh Allen] of Down's house and all that he had.

Their device to be put in trust is to further some mischief or to let some good. Many are of opinion that her Majesty and her council would not have the Irish rebels all subdued and conquered and Ireland inhabited with mere English, which I cannot believe, or else must think that they are ignorant of the state thereof.

"At this instant the Irish men, except in the walled towns, are not christian, civil or human creatures, but heathen or rather savages and brute beasts. For many of them, as well women as men, go commonly all naked, saving only a loose mantle hanging about them. If any of them have a shirt and a pair of single soled shoes, which they call brogues, they are especially

provided for. And the Earl of Clancar and the Lord Morrys came the third of this instant to present themselves to my Lord Deputy at Dublin, being the chief city in all Ireland, in all their bravery. And the best robe or garment they wore, was a russet Irish mantle worth about a crown a piece, and they had each of them a hat, a leather jerkin, a pair of hosen which they call trewes and a pair of brogues, but not all worth a noble that either of them had. And at night the master, mistress or dame, menservants, maid-servants, (women servants I should have said, for I think there be no maids) guests, strangers and all, lye in one little room, not so good or handsome as many a hogscote in England. And when they rise in the morning, they shake their ears and go their ways, without any serving of God, or other making of them a ready. And their exercises all day and many times throughout the night are murder, burning of houses, theft and mischief. And their food is flesh, if they can steal any, for they have no occupation or have been brought up to any labour to earn anything, and if they can get no stolen flesh, they eat, if they can get them, like [leek] blades, and a three-leaved grass which they call shamrock, and for want thereof carrion and grass in the fields, with such butter as is too loathsome to describe. The best of them have seldom bread and the common sort never look after any. And their meat, lodging and apparel, are not so beastlike, but their manner of feeding is more rude and evil and their condition and disposition much worse. For they never serve God or go to any church, and in most parts of the country they have neither ministers nor churches, or those which are be decayed and never used. They never marry nor christen,



but howl over the corpse like dogs, and because they think they cannot themselves make noise enough they will many times hire some to howl with them.

They have no knowledge of God or his word, or any kind of religion, but in all things shew themselves more barbarous and beastlike than any other infidels, without any regard or mind of salvation, to the great dishonour and displeasure of God, and procurement of his punishment, not only on themselves but on those magistrates under whose government God hath committed them. Whereof he sheweth manifest signs, for there be as many good blessings of God in Ireland as in most realms in the world—good grounds—rich mines—good waters well replenished with all kinds of fish—good mold and many woods, which notwithstanding, the people which are there (which are not half a quarter of those which England continually maintaineth) live very hardly, yea for the most part most miserably, and many have, and many more would have, starved for food (albeit that many live with grass in the field like brute beasts and spend no corn) if great store of victual had not been sent thither out of England. Ireland is a moth and canker daily consuming the treasure and commodities of England. Her Majesty's Irish rebels daily increase as well in knowledge and furniture as number of men.

Tirlogh within ten years could not make 1,500 men. Within these two years he tarried in camp, marching like a conqueror along the country above 4,000 men ready to bid her Majesty battle. Now he can make 6,000 men and there be many more of great power for their degrees. In time past they had no weapons but darts and galliglasses. Now they are furnished with all

kinds of munition and as well practised therein as Englishmen.

They will not live under her Majesty's laws. They will not come to her Deputy, but only as they will appoint. And the Irish which live like subjects play but as the fox, which when you set him in a chain will seem tame, but if he get loose will be wild again.

When the Lord Deputy last went north, MacMahon went with him, thinking there would have been war with Tirlogh. For this Tirlogh has fined him 500 cows, and because he will not pay, Tirlogh has set upon him and spoiled him, and therefore MacMahon sets upon and spoils her Majesty's subjects. "The Irish are desperately bent to commit all kinds of mischief."—"No governour shall do good except he shew himself a Tamerlane."

"If hell were open and all the evil spirits abroad, they could never be worse than these Irish rogues—rather dogs or worse than dogs, for dogs do but their kind, and they degenerate from all humanity, yet in all mischief very apt, subtle and politic, and stout in performing it. They commonly use Englishmen as that wicked ruffian Brown used Mr. Saunders, and divers other most lewd persons have used honest men, when, either by the perment (sic) of their wicked wives or otherwise, they have sought to murder them, and follow a rule which adulterers use. When he will lye with the good wife he will first make much of the goodman. So the Irishmen make the English believe they love them, and as long as an Englishman has any authority over him, he shall find him as tractable as may be, but if the Irishman may get him at advantage, he will lose his head."

We must all pray God to move her Majesty to

look to these things—to put away all Irish authority and appoint magistrates with English hearts.

I know not the ten thousandth thing that is amiss in Ireland, but among those I do know, I cannot forget the Commission of faculties, which gives licences to some one to have three, perhaps four benefices—not only to spiritual but some temporal men—and by reason thereof, though there be not many churches and fewer bells in Ireland, some of them ring but they neither call nor bring ministers nor parishioners to serve God. I know but few ministers in Ireland, yet one of them which is an Irishman—a common table player and alehouse haunter—which can scarce read the service—hath three benefices. How he serveth them I know not. I have been credibly told there hath been Mass said in some of them since he had them.

“A man told me that on the 27th of August, being Sunday, he was at Dundalk, one of the largest country towns in Ireland, and hearing the bell ring went to church, and staring there long could see nobody but the clerk, and at length asked him when the people would come to church, and he told him they should have no service there that day for their minister had other benefices, and he used to say service there but seldom.”

“I was certified, and I find it very likely to be true, that my Lord Bishop of Dublin is a partner in the profits of the commission of faculties, and anything almost will be suffered in Ireland for gain and friendship, or else the bishop of Meath [Hugh Brady] (an Irishman, and not the best subject in Ireland, which married a very honest gentleman's daughter, \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

and will seem an earnest Protestant and yet they say cherisheth many a Papist) could not have continued one of the Council."

"My Lord Bishop of Dublin sure I think be a good subject, but he hath many children and is so desirous to prefer them as he hath married one daughter to one Mr. Warren, another to one Mr. Cowley, another to one Mr. Usher, and it is said gave £500 a piece in marriage with them, and bought land in Kent (some say as much as is worth £200 a year) and keepeth one of his sons at the temple in London, and hath other sons and daughters, all which have made him take up money at interest, as he did £400 of Sir William Drury; and to pay this and defray all charges and get more money for his sons and daughters, many think maketh him have a cheverelle conscience."

### XXXVI.

*Geoffrey Fenton to Walsingham, relating the failure of the policy of the Governour, and blaming his severity.*

1581, November 5.

[Abstract.]

The general estate of the government grows daily worse and worse. The Deputy feels himself ill supported at home. He has done his best, "yet whether it be by a savage and brutish nature of this people or by an hereditary destiny hanging over the land," they appear to bear much of grudge and discontent against him. He is too severe and stern. He is a medicine which does not suit the sore, &c.

## XXXVII.

*H. Wallop to Walsingham, concerning the recall of Lord Grey, and the peril of losing the Pale itself, in the event of Lord Grey's departure.*

1581, November 6.

[Extract.]

The Deputy desires to be revoked. I rather hope he will be sustained in force for two or three years, by which time he will have settled the country, so that it shall pay its own expenses. "Which course if her Majesty take not, but think to keep the Pale only, as in times past hath been done, and content herself with the name of Queen, without profit or commodity, the State is so far altered from former times, their hearts so much alienated from her and our nation, and so greatly affected to foreign nations and Papistry, as I fear she shall be deceived in that expectation, and lose even the Pale itself in very short time. This late discovered conspiracy and combination in the Pale, which stretcheth to all the best houses of English name, doth sufficiently prognosticate the same."

## XXXVIII.

*Thomas Jones, preacher, relates the execution of three gentlemen for treason, and his attempts to convert them.*

1581, November 18.

[Abstract.]

George Netterville, Robert Sherlock and Christopher Eustace are led to execution. Thomas Jones, a preacher, tries to convert them as they go to the

scaffold. They only said—"Vade Satana—Vade post me, Satana." Christopher Eustace asked—"Is it not enough for you to have our lives but that you must seek also to draw us from our religion?"

Thomas Jones was much afflicted. He was afterwards bishop of Meath, and eventually became archbishop of Dublin.

At this time the Deputy executed nineteen young gentlemen, besides many more of "meaner calling who were executed by Martial Law." Fenton writes to Walsingham on the 23rd of November concerning these trials. He says :—"The Jurors, by a secret power of God working on their conscience, proceed in the trials with great uprightness—esteeming it a singular act of piety to their country to weed out such corrupt members, and, by their extirpation, to assure the better their own estates."

## XXXIX.

*Sir Nicholas Malby, President of Connaught, in reply to certain charges sent to the Privy Council against him by E. Whyte who accused him of having favoured certain Friars, who refused the oath of supremacy, and of having countenanced a Papal bishop.*

1582, April 12.

[Extracts.]

Sir Nicholas Malby was charged by Edward Whyte, clerk of the council in Connaught, with protecting the Friars of Boyle Abbey, and allowing an Abbot sent there by the Pope, "which refused the oath of Supremacy to her Majesty."

"I found," replies Malby, "the Friars of Kilconnell and Sligo protected by the Governors of the Realm before I had charge of the Province, who did impart

the cause unto me"—not meet to be known to the accuser—for which cause, to continue them in that service, I did renew the Protection from time to time, as I found them to deserve that favour, wherein also I have found great benefit to the service of her Majesty, and do think it not to be a dangerous matter to put them down at all times when it shall be thought meet. But for any other favour unto them or in cause of religion, I defy the Pope and as many as favour him and his religion.

Being charged also :—That he had conference with one John Case, which came lately from Rome, with the Pope's donation of the bishopric of Killala, whom he suffereth there to seduce the people, he answers :—"The bishop of Kilmacoughe sent 20 marks to me to be bestowed in necessaries in England, which I must bring over for him. And when he saith he is an unfit man to be a bishop, this shameless informer doth not blush to touch every governour. He knoweth that he is already Bishop of Kilmacough, so made by the Lord Deputy (but in whose time I know not) and therefore hath been thought fit for the function by others before my time, when now he is recommended for an exchange of his bishoprick and not as newly nominated a bishop.

#### XL.

*Sir H. Wallop, Lord Justice, to Burghley, ascribing the rebellious disposition of the Irish to their attachment to the Popish religion, and stating that the Governours were unable to punish the offences committed by the Irish lords.*

1582, June 10.

[Abstract.]

"The causes of rebellion, my good Lord, as I

conceive them are these" :—The great affection they generally bear to the Popish Religion, which agreeth with their humour, that having committed murder, incest, thefts, with other execrable offences, by hearing a mass, confessing themselves to a priest, or obtaining the Pope's pardon, they persuade themselves they are forgiven. And hearing mass on Sunday or Holyday, they think all the week after they may do what heinous offence soever, and it is dispensed withal.

They also hate our nation, partly through general mislike and disdain one nation hath to be governed by another, partly that we are contrary to them in religion, and lastly they seek to have the government among themselves.

The governours, for fear to stir them to rebellion, dare not, or have not power, to punish any outrage done by any of the Irish Lords.

## XLI.

*A Petition of Miler Magrath, archbishop of Cashel, to the Queen, in which he prays that Protestants may not be tried before Roman Catholic jurors, nor by such judges and lawyers as have not taken the oath of supremacy and the Holy Communion.*

1582, October.

[Abstract.]

Most humbly sheweth to your excellent Majesty, your faithful subject Milerus, archbishop of Cashel

Whereas in the Realm of Ireland are sundry courts of diverse authorities and jurisdictions, appointed for the administration of justice and laws, wherein some-



times certain officers, judges, barristers, lawyers and ministers of the law, are known to be, or at the least are vehemently suspected to be, Papists and recusants, not sworn to your Majesty's supremacy, according to the statute provided in that behalf, and sometimes many good subjects and Protestants accused by such malicious Papists before such judges, officers and lawyers of that sort, who will try the said embracers of the gospel by papistical suborned inquests and witnesses, and the same their doings, maintained by the said officers and lawyers, to the great danger and overthrow of your Majesty's faithful subjects—all sorts of the said Papists being fully persuaded to have and enjoy the Pope's blessing and authority to be forsworn, in case they might overthrow any Protestant or favourer of your Majesty's proceedings. In consideration whereof, it may please your Majesty to direct general instructions to the Lord Deputy and Council, not to suffer any judge, temporal or spiritual, to judge, or any jury, or witness, to pass or be accepted in any matter, where anything is to be enquired, or judged, against any of your said subjects and known Protestants, but such judges, justices, barristers and lawyers, as are or shall be sworn to your Majesty's supremacy, and have received the Holy Communion once in the year before, according to God's and your Highness' laws in that case provided, and your Majesty's suppliant, with the rest of the few members of Protestants and furtherers of your Majesty's godly proceedings, which no doubt by these means will increase in that land, shall continually pray for the preservation of your Majesty's most Royal person in all felicity.

## XLII

*Another Petition of the archbishop (Magrath) of Cashel, in which he mentions that many officials in Ireland, and in Munster especially, including justices of assize and bishops, were admitted to office without taking the oath of supremacy—Also that Romish bishops and priests had been hitherto permitted to exercise their calling—Also that all the Ulster livings were held by the Pope's nominees—and that the townsmen of Cashel received the bishops sent from Rome. He prays for authority to tender the oath of supremacy to all persons, and to imprison recusants, and for a custodiam of all the livings in Ulster. And he desires that the townsmen of Cashel may be required to put in securities that they will go to Church and receive the Holy Communion.*

1582, October.

[Extracts.]

Certain motions and requests of the archbishop of Cashel.

‘First—Forasmuch as many now within the realm of Ireland, and especially in the province of Munster, as well officers and ministers of the law, head officers of towns and cities, principal lords and gentlemen, as justices of the peace and assizes, and prelates of the Church, are appointed and elected in their several offices and callings there, being never sworn to the oath of her Majesty's supremacy (underlined in the original) according to the statute in that behalf provided, although every of them presumeth to exercise their several callings without punishment, a thing very dangerous and worthy to

be looked unto, may it please your honourable lordships to grant authority to your suppliant, or to some others well affected in such a case, to take and receive the said oaths from all manner of persons

*Item*—Forasmuch as the sufferance hitherto used with Friars, Monks, Nuns, Jesuits and seminary Romish priests, *and bishops in general*, is the only mother and nurse of rebellion and disloyalty in all Ireland, and especially in Ulster, and in that part of Connaught where they remain unsuppressed as yet, it may, therefore, please your honourable lordships, to grant to your suppliant and other fit persons a commission in like sort, with some ability to execute the same, and to suppress all such abbeys and monasteries, and to apprehend and commit to prison, all persons of the afore named sort, and to seize on all their goods to her Majesty's use.

*Item*—For that it is a part of a good subject's duty to shew and declare his good will towards his prince, as well by words as by deeds, according to his ability, therefore your suppliant, considering that all the livings and other spiritual promotions within the most part of the province of Ulster, are yet untaxed, and by that means no manner of benefit growing to her Majesty out of any of them, but the same *wholly by the Pope's usurped power and authority maintained* and occupied by such as derived their title from him,—if therefore it shall please your Lordships to grant the custodiam of all livings so detained by any manner of persons within the province of Ulster to your suppliant, with authority to grant every of them (except bishoprics), for certain years, to such that will get sufficient security to pay first fruits and twenty parts to her Majesty, yearly, during that time, to her

Majesty, and that your suppliant's custodiam shall be ended in every bishoprick as soon as any man shall be had by the State that will accept the bishoprick and observe her Majesty's laws and injunctions, he will endeavour himself, being a man born and well friended in that country, not only to diminish the Pope's authority there, but also to increase God's glory and her Majesty's revenues.

*Item*—For that the inhabitants of the towns of Cashel and ffidens, being not only of the diocese of Cashel but also parcels and members of the said archbishopric, are willing always to receive such bishops as cometh from Rome, as appeared by their doings in your suppliant's predecessor's time (who, being captive, was brought out of his own house within a mile of Cashel, by one Morris Reogh, then from the Pope appointed archbishop there, the said Morris was admitted and conducted by the said townsmen of Cashel to say a Mass in the Cathedral church of Cashel,) and now in like sort had received peaceably such bishops as came from Rome of late, wherefore it may please your honours, not only to set down what punishment shall be thought fit for their doings, but also give directions that the Head Officers and Burgesses and every one being in age in the said towns shall be compelled to put in securities before the Lord Chancellor to come to church and receive the Holy Communion, which hitherto they have refused to do.

#### XLIII.

*Loftus and Wallop, Lords Justices, to Walsingham, giving their opinion concerning the origin of the rebellion. They say religion was but a pretext, for neither*

*Desmond, nor Clanrickard, nor any other in Ulster, Munster or Connaught were restrained to any religion, but had free use of all Papistry, &c.*

1582, November 2.

[Extract.]

Touching our opinion of the original and continuance of these troubles, We conceive the same first took beginning from part of the nobility in Connaught and Munster, when their captaines' maintenance of idle men, coyne and exactions, were restrained by placing of Presidents in both those provinces. Afterwards the looking into the liberties of Kerry, and the ambition of the Geraldines, drew Desmond to the foreign practice under colour of religion, when indeed neither was he, nor Clanrickard, nor any other in Ulster, Munster or Connaught, restrained to any Religion, but had free use of all Papistry and maintenance of the Friars and Friars' houses.

But after John of Desmond came down into these parts of Leinster in June, 1580, and had assured some such as he knew infected with Romish Religion, that force was coming to the maintenance of their cause, as fell out in September following, then brake out Baltinglass into action in July, who drew after him Feagh McHugh, the O'Birnes and O'Toole; and then the cess, which had not been used in the Pale in a year and a half before by means of the composition, was alleged as a cause of discontentment, and so the stirs grew and since continued.

It may be noted as an instance of "free use of all papistry," in Clanrickard's country, that in a State Paper, dated August, 1583, is a plan of the town of Galway with the Church marked as that in which "the Popish prayer in Latin" continued to be said.

## XLIV.

*Loftus and Wallop, Lords Justices, to the Lords of the Council in England—relating the capture and execution of Walter Eustace.*

1583, June 14.

[Abstract.]

Walter Eustace, brother to Viscount Baltinglass, was taken at last. We bribed some of his confederates to betray him and he was brought in yesterday. He said he was a Catholic and did what he did "for God's cause and by authority from the Pope." He was executed.

It is, perhaps, worthy of observation, that this—the first distinctly religious rebellion—broke out in the Pale.

## XLV.

*The examination of Christopher Barnewell, concerning the papal archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Hurley, and describing what happened at Rome between the archbishop and Cardinal Comensis the Pope's Secretary.*

1583, August 12.

[Extract.]

The examination of Christopher Barnewell concerning Archbishop Hurley, taken at Dundalk before Archbishop Loftus, H. Wallop and Edward Waterhouse.

"Missing Richard Eustace at Paris, he (C. Barnewell)

went to Rome and there found him, at which time there was one Hurley, now created archbishop of Cashel. Richard Eustace carried this examine to the archbishop, who examined him of all matters of Ireland, especially what Lords were in arrest. This examine told him of all that were in the action. Then the bishop asked of the Earl of Kildare. He answered :—‘ He was in the Castle of Dublin, prisoner, and the Baron of Delvin with him.’ Then he asked whether the Earl were taken as a companion of the Rebellion or no. He answered, ‘ No; he served against the Viscount, and before that against James Fitzmaurice.’ Then the bishop took him with him to the Pope’s Secretary, called Cardinal Comensis, to whom he told the same tale. Then the Cardinal said,—‘ Who would trust an Irishman? The earl promised to take our part’—and shrunk his shoulders into his ears. The archbishop said that he thought the Earl never promised that he would take arms. Then the cardinal chafed and said :—‘ Wilt thou tell me?’ And then he went into his study, and fetched out two writings, the one a great writing whereunto the Bishop said the most part of the lords and gentlemen of Ulster, Munster and Connaught had subscribed; the other was a letter for the Earl of Kildare alone, which the Cardinal shewed to the archbishop as rebuking him for not believing him. All this the examine saith was expounded to him both by the said Bishop and Richard Eustace, and he saith further that the Cardinal, in the end of that conference, said :—‘ Do you think that he would have trusted to James Fitzmaurice or to Stewkely, or to all these lords (which subscribed the great letter) unless he had received this letter from the Earl of Kildare?’ And

then the Cardinal turned away, and told the archbishop that the Pope had no money for none of their nation. He said further that all the Irishmen in Rome cursed the Earl of Kildare for breach of his promise, and prayed for the Viscount and Earl of Desmond and all their confederates." Signed "CHRISTOPHER BARNEWALL."

## XLVI.

*The Mayor and Recorder of Limerick to the Earl of Ormond, with intelligence from Spain, and mentioning that three Irish bishops were to accompany an intended invasion of Ireland. From Limerick.*

1583, September 1.

[Extract.]

Two Limerick merchants just arrived from Lisbon "tell that two days before they departed, there came one of James Eustace's servants with letters to the Governour of Portugal, and to provide a lodging in Lisbon for his master and three Irish bishops, viz. :— for Conoghur O'Mulrian, pretended bishop of Kildaloe, Conoghur O'Buil, pretended bishop of Limerick, Philip Fitz Thomas, pretended bishop of Ossory. The said merchants of Limerick's host in Lisbon, Anthony Rebere, told them that upon the return of King Philip's army from Terceiras, being 200 sails, they will all come with the said James and bishops to this land pretending to 'conquest' this whole land. One Richard Arthur, priest, born in Limerick, and dwelling in Lisbon, did affirm the same."



## XLVII.

*The Earl of Ormond to Burghley, relating the capture of a Priest, who had been with Desmond.*

1583, September 23.

[Extract.]

Lord Roche has taken the priest (seemingly) who has been with Desmond all this time. Captain Robarts is sent to receive him of Lord Roche, and "I have sent my servant, Pat Graunte, with him, to be chained in handlock with the priest, that no man may see him or speak unto him" till he come hither to me, I willed him to be brought by night, or that he be brought muffled till he come as he be not known. But I fear the traitor Desmond, and those in his company when he was taken, will blow it abroad, and so cause their secret friends to stand on their guard. My Lord, if this be the priest that hath been hid with Desmond all this while, he may declare the names of his master's secret relievers with many other things, and so disclose much treason.

## XLVIII.

*Archbishop Loftus and Sir H. Wallop, Lords Justices, to the Queen's Secretary, relating the search for and apprehension of archbishop Hurley.*

1583, October 8.

[Holograph.]

Loftus and Wallop to "Robert Beale, supplying the place of her Majesty's Chief Secretary."

“ Sir,—By our last letters we gave you some inkling of the arrival here of one Dr. Hurley, upon intelligence whereof we caused so narrow search to be made after him, as we found he had been entertained in the house of the Baron of Slane—and [in the houses of] some others of good account within the Pale—and from thence was departed (in company with Mr. Perse Butler, base son to the Earl of Ormond) into Munster. Whereupon, sending for the Baron of Slane, we so dealt with him as he travailed presently to the Earl for the apprehension of the said Hurley, and returning again yesterday brought him unto us, but as yet our leisure hath not served to examine him. What shall fall out upon his examination, we will by the next advertise the Lords at large. In the meantime it is most certain that he had been a leidger at Rome for a long time, soliciting all matters that hath been there attempted to the prejudice of her Majesty’s proceedings here in this realm, and the perturbing of this State. He is nominated by the Pope to be archbishop of Cashel. Thus, for the present, all things else being in reasonable good quiet, and having not further to enlarge, we betake you to the tuition of Almighty God. From Dublin, this 8th of October, 1583—your assured loving friends. AD. DUBLIN.—H. WALLOP.”

## XLIX.

*Loftus and Wallop, Lord Justices, to Walsingham, asking for liberty to deal severely with one Fitzsymons, and for directions how to proceed with archbishop Hurley.*

1583, October 20.

[Extracts.]

“ Since your honour’s departure into Scotland, we

received a letter from the Lords, concerning one Michael Fitzsymons, the copy whereof we send your honour here enclosed. Whereby it seemeth that besides his flying into France without licence, which he maketh the ground of the suit for a pardon, their Lordships would have him pardoned for any one fault that he had committed against the law here, in hope of his conformity and dutiful life hereafter." . . . "But he will not enter into any particular with us, but urgeth the pardon in general terms. And like as this Fitzsymons is well known unto us to be not only an arrogant Papist, impossible to be reformed, and a continual practiser against the State, so, if it please your honour to read the examination of Christopher Barnewell against Sedgrave and William Fitzsymons of this city, your honour shall find that this Michael Fitzsymons was made acquainted with the whole practice, and that if he could have furnished himself with money, he should have been the carrier of the letters both to the Pope and the King of Spain, to have solicited for more aid. And, therefore, since his offence is to be justified by Barnewell, and that he will not enter into the voluntary confession of it, it is like he find a guilty conscience in divers treasons, and therefore will depend upon this letter of the Lords for a refuge against the first fault wherewith he shall be charged. Wherefore we wish—the quality of his offence considered—that we might have a revocation of their Lordships' said letter, whereby we might be at liberty to deal with him in a more severe sort."

We sent previously "a second voluntary confession of the aforesaid Christopher Barnewell touching 120. In which confession there is one Dr. Hurley (by creation of the Pope archbishop of Cashel) named to have

been a practiser at Rome about the rebels here, and to have had access to Cardinal Comensis, the Pope's Secretary, as in the confession at large appeareth. This Hurley, having received letters from Rome to divers persons in Ireland, landed at Drogheda, about six weeks past [*i. e.* about the 8th of September, 1583], and immediately grew familiar with the Baron of Slane, and resorted to his house under pretence of acquaintance with a base son of the Earl of Ormond's, who married the Baron's daughter. And passing some time there, from thence went into Oreylie's country, to seek some priests of his foreign acquaintance, and so into Munster to the Lord General, being a borne man under his Lordship, and craving protection at his hands. Which being revealed unto us, we so dealt with the Baron of Slane that he travailed to the Earl, and brought the said Hurley hither unto us, where we have committed him close prisoner to the Castle. At his first apprehension he uttered some words to the Baron of Slane as though 120 and (cypher) were to be charged with these late stirs and foreign practices, and so the Baron gave it forth in secret. But before his coming to us, he had been so well schooled as now he pretendeth ignorance in all things saving that he confesseth that the Viscount of Baltinglas, his brother Richard Eustace, Barnewell and he, were together with Cardinal Comensis, but denieth that he saw any such letters as Barnewell in his confession allegeth, nor heard any matter of such importance. The other justifieth his former confession, and addeth that the Doctor was one of the House of Inquisition, which he denieth not. And further the Doctor confesseth that he had letters from Cardinal Sans [Sens] (who is called Protector of Ireland) to the Earl of Desmond

and others, which letters he saith he left in France, and would not meddle with them." We therefore desire to be directed "touching the confession of the said Barnewell, how we shall either proceed in it or suppress it, and also what course we are to hold with the Popish Archbishop," &c. Signed "AD. DUBLIN, CANC.—H. WALLOP."

## L.

*Loftus and Wallop, Lords Justices, to Walsingham, acknowledging the receipt of the Queen's instructions to put archbishop Hurley to the torture, but advising the tower of London as a fitter place to deal with Dr. Hurley, as there was not a suitable instrument of torture in Dublin, and in London Hurley would be cut off from the sympathy of his Irish patrons.*

1583, December 10.

[Extract.]

"Among other letters directed to us and brought by this last passage, we received one from your Honour, declaring her Majesty's pleasure for the proceeding with Dr. Hurley by torture, or any other severe manner of proceeding, to gain his knowledge of all foreign practices against her Majesty's States. Wherein we partly forebore to deal till now, because that Mr. Waterhouse, whom we used only in the former examinations, was employed in Connaught, with Sir Nicholas Malbie, in searching out the manner of the death of the Baron of Leitrim, and being now returned, we will enter into the matters again, by examination of all such as transported Hurley and such

as hosted and entertained him after his landing, and will also deal with himself by the best means we may. But for that we want here either racke or other engine of torture to terrify him, and doubt but at the time of his apprehension he was schooled to be silent in all causes of weight, we thought that in a matter of so great importance, and to a person so inward with the Pope and his Cardinals, and preferred by them to the dignity of an archbishop, the tower of London should be a better school than the Castle of Dublin; where being out of hope of his Irish patrons and favourers he might be made more apt to tell the truth, and therefore do wish that we had direction to send him thither. Which, we think, may be secretly done [so] as his departure hence should not be known, neither be discovered, till he came thither. And in the mean season we would not only inform ourselves of all that may be gained here out of the examination of him and others, but also prepare that Barnewell, his accuser, may repair to the Court to justify his former deposition, and other matters against Hurley, wherein we pray your Honour to be speedily informed, if her Majesty please, and so do commit you to the Lord." Signed "AD. DUBLIN, CANC.—H. WALLOP."

## LI.

*Loftus and Wallop, Lords Justices, to Walsingham, relating that they tortured archbishop Hurley according to his advice, and had sent over Hurley's examination. They shew the danger of giving Hurley an open trial, and pray that he may be executed by Martial Law, as*

*the Crown Lawyers said he could not be convicted by the ordinary laws in force—his alleged treasons having been all committed in foreign parts.*

1584, March 7.

[Holograph.]

“ May it please your Honour—Since the last term which the other general affairs here would give us leave, we have, at several times, examined Dr. Hurley, with whom albeit we dealt by all the good means we could, to draw him to confess his knowledge, not only of any practice of disturbance pretended against the land in particular, but also of any other foreign conspiracy whatsoever against her Majesty, for England or any other part of her dominions. And in that point we omitted not to give him a taste that so far forth as he would sincerely and liberally discover all that he knew of others, her Majesty's mercy might be extended to repair such faults as himself had committed. Yet he retaining his former obstinacy and evasions, we found himself far off from that truth which we expected, and are not ignorant that he can declare, if he list. Yea, he would not confess that he brought from Rome the Pope's letters of comfort, addressed to the Earl of Desmond, Viscount of Baltinglas, and other rebels, till he knew by us that we had intercepted said letters, with other testimonials of his consecration, and were already possessed of them. So, as not finding that easy manner of examination to do any good, we made commissions to Mr. Waterhouse and Mr. Secretary Fenton, to put him to the torture, such as your Honour advised us, which was to toast his feet against the fire with hot boots. His confessions, as well upon the torture as at sundry times before, we have extracted and sent herewith to your Honour,

together with all other declarations, both of the lord of Slane and others, which have any community with Hurley's cases, and which we have at several times drawn from the parties themselves by way of examination. By which, as we doubt not but your Honour will discern how many ways Hurley is to be overtaken with treason in his own person, and with what bad mind he came into Ireland, instructed from Rome, to poison the hearts of the people with disobedience to her Majesty's government, which was not unlike to put the realm in danger of a new revolt, if he had not been intercepted in time, even so we desire your Honour to consider how he may speedily receive his deserts so as not only his own evil may die with himself, and thereby the realm be delivered of a perilous member, but also his punishment to serve for an example *ad terrorem* to many others, who we find by his own confessions are prepared at Rome to run the same course both here and for England. And herein we thought good to remember your Honour by way of our opinion, that considering how obstinate and wilful we find him every way, if he should be referred to a public trial, his impudent and clamorous denial might do great harm to the ill-effected here, who in troth have no small admiration of him. And yet, having had conference with some of the best lawyers in the land, we find that they make a scruple to arraign him here, for that his treasons were committed in foreign parts, the statute in that behalf being not here as it is in England. And therefore we think it not amiss (if it be allowed there) to have him executed by Martial Law, against which he can have no just challenge, for that he hath neither lands nor goods; and as by that way may be avoided many harms



which by his presence—standing at ordinary trial and retaining still his former impudence and negative protestations—he may do to the people. So also it may be a mean to prevent danger to us and the said Waterhouse and Mr. Secretary, that have from the beginning interposed ourselves not only in his apprehension, but also in all his examinations, if (as it is most likely) he should break out and exclaim to the people that he was troubled for some noblemen of his country, whom your Honour may find, by the extracts now sent, chargeable with more than suspicion of confederacy in the late rebellion. Whereof we humbly pray your Honour to be careful in our behalf, considering in how little safety we live here, for the like services we have already done to her Majesty, and so oftsoons desiring your Honour's speedy resolution whether he shall be passed to Martial Law or not, for which purpose we have sent this bearer Mr. Randall [Randolph], and to return with your answer with all the diligence he may." Signed "AD. DUBLIN. CANC.—H. WALLOP."

## LII.

*Loftus and Wallop, Lords Justices, to Walsingham, urging a speedy decision upon the case of archbishop Hurley, who had, they say, the secret favour of the Earl of Ormond.*

1584, March 8.

[Holograph.]

"It may please your Honour—As, in our other letter to your Honour of the 7th of this present, we

have declared our proceedings by torture with Dr. Hurley, having sent you the abstract of his examination, together with the Baron of Slane's, John Dillon's, and others,' to be considered of by your Honour, and used in such sort as shall seem good unto you, so also have we herewith sent the copies of such letters, as, since the writing of our former letters, we have intercepted, being written since his torture—the one to the Earl of Ormond and the other to a kinsman of his own, in this town (serving Dr. Forth) who should have practised for him. Which letters were brought to our hands by the fidelity of Sylvester Cooley, the constable, and the good handling of one of the warders, who hath the keeping of Hurley. By these letters your Honour may discover what favour these Romish Runagates have with our great Potentate here. They that will not see, let them be blind still, and it shall suffice us to have discharged our duties herein, as before in Barnewell's examination formerly sent unto the Lord Treasurer and your Honour, concerning the Earl of Kildare and the Baron of Delvin, confirmed now by Hurley's own speech to the Baron of Slane, as in the Baron's confession appeareth. Whereof, nevertheless, we never had any answer, which maketh us somewhat doubtful how to proceed in those causes, not knowing how our doings in that behalf are there thought of. We beseech your Honour to let us understand how both these and the former also are there taken, and [to let us] be directed what course we shall hold therein. Or otherwise, if your Honour find but small accompt to be made thereof, that it will please you to yield us your good advice for the staying of our hand, and not further to stir those coals to scorch ourselves, knowing how

dangerous it is for us to busy ourselves in this sort, with setting these matters abroad here, if when we have, according to our duties, presented the same unto your Honours there,—in lieu of backing and good countenance from thence, our doings shall be discovered. And so, craving by the next despatch to be satisfied from your Honour herein, we humbly take our leave.”  
Signed “AD. DUBLIN, CANC.—H. WALLOP.”

## LIII.

*Loftus and Wallop, Lords Justices, to Walsingham, again requesting instructions concerning the execution of archbishop Hurley.*

1584, April 14

[Extract.]

“In our late letters touching Hurley, we earnestly pressed her Majesty’s and their Lordships’ resolution for our proceedings with him, which eftsoons we humbly beseech your Honour to hasten as much as you may. In like sort we have long expected their Lordships’ pleasure touching that which formerly we wrote concerning the Earl of Kildare,” &c. Signed  
“AD. DUBLIN, CANC.—H. WALLOP.”

## LIV.

*Walsingham, the Queen’s Secretary, to Loftus and Wallop, the Lords Justices of Ireland, conveying her Majesty’s instructions for the execution of archbishop*

*Hurley, by ordinary trial if possible, if not, by Martial Law, and notifying her Majesty's approval of their conduct towards the papal archbishop.*

1584, April 28.

[Extract.]

“After my hearty commendations to your Lordships—your late letters of the 7th and 8th of last month by Mr. Alverie Randolph, together with the extracts of the examinations of Hurley and of others, being of some length, and the time otherwise here full of great causes, I could not, before now, so impart to her Majesty, as I might withal know her mind touching the same, for your Lordships' further direction. Wherefore she having at length resolved, I have accordingly, by her commandment, to signify her Majesty's pleasure unto you touching Hurley, which is this :—That the man being so notorious and ill a subject (as appeareth by all the circumstances of his cause he is) you do proceed, if it may be, to his execution by ordinary trial of him for it. Howbeit—in case you shall find the effect of this course doubtful, by reason of the affections of such as shall be of his jury, and for the supposal conceived by the lawyers of that country that he can hardly be found guilty for his treasons committed in foreign parts against her Majesty—then her pleasure is you take a shorter way with him by Martial Law. So as you may see, it is referred to your discretion whether of these two ways your Lordships will take with him. And—the man being so resolute to reveal no more matter—it is thought meet to have no further tortures used against him, but that you proceed forthwith to his execution in manner aforesaid. As for her Majesty's good acceptance of your careful travail in

this matter of Hurley, you need nothing to doubt; and, for your better assurance thereof, she has commanded me to let your Lordship understand that as well in all other the like, as in this case of Hurley, she cannot but greatly allow and commend your doings. And, touching the matter of Sedgrave and Fitzsimon, whose trial for treason the city of Dublin claimeth by their privileges—whereof you wrote in October last—so it is that the best lawyers here have delivered their opinion against the claim of that city. And therefore Sir John [Perrot] before his departure shall have direction to proceed accordingly with these persons after his arrival with you."

## LV.

*Mr. Secretary Fenton to Walsingham, in favour of the suit of the widow of Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, who died in debt to the Queen to the amount of £160 for munitions. Fenton afterwards married the widow, for whom he pleads, and his daughter by her was Alice, wife to the great Earl of Cork.*

1584, May 11.

[Holograph.]

May it please your Honour, the widow of the late bishop of Meath, being charged with an arrear of clx<sup>li</sup> or thereabouts, for the debt of her husband, growing for munitions, which he had out of the store in these late dangerous times, hath desired this bearer, Mr. Ball, to sue there for the remittal of it. To which end he hath brought some letters from hence to the Lord Treasurer.

The gentlewoman is charged with many children, and a very small portion to bring them up. She is virtuous and religious, and, lastly, she is the daughter of a good father, Doctor Weston, sometimes Lord Chancellor of this land, whose services, I doubt not but your Honour remembereth, did well deserve. In which regard and in compassion of her poor estate, it may please your honour to favour her suit, and to further it, as she may be acquitted of that little debt, which will be no little comfort unto her. And so—also humbly desiring your Honour to help the bearer in his own private causes, if he shall prefer any there—I pray God to give your Honour always all spiritual gifts and blessings. At Dublin, 11th May, 1584. Your Honour's most humbly to command, GEOFFREY FENTON.

*Addressed*—To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight, Principal Secretary to her Majesty, and one of her Highness' most Honourable Privy Council.

## LVI.

*Adam Loftus, Lord Justice, to Sir Francis Walsingham, recommending the suit of the widow of Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, who died owing to her Majesty £120 for Munitions and Twentieth Parts.*

1584, May 12.

[Holograph.]

It may please your Honour—Mr. Brady, late bishop of Meath, deceased, being at the time of his death (and long time before) in some arrear unto her

Majesty, for certain munition and Twentieth parts, to the value of cxx<sup>li</sup>, or thereabouts, the poor gentlewoman his wife is now charged therewithal, and being left very unable to satisfy either that or other his debts, is enforced to seek thither for some favour in that behalf. Which her suit she hath committed to the solicitation of this gentleman—Mr. John Ball, her kinsman—amongst other his own causes there.

And albeit her intent was to make it a suit unto her Majesty and the Lords, yet—I suppose—if it might please your Honour to write but your letter unto the Lord Deputy and the Council here in her favour (in such sort as you shall think convenient) it would be sufficient to ease her of so small a matter, by concordatum here, without troubling her Majesty or the Lords therewith:—the whole Board here standing in this case well affected towards her both in respect of the long service of her late husband (in place of a Councillor) and of her own desolate estate, being left very poor and known to be both virtuous and godly:—And lastly in regard to her good and godly father, Mr. Doctor Weston, the remembrance of whom, I doubt not, will breed like favourable disposition in your Honour towards the poore gentlewoman his daughter, both in this and all other her causes. In which behalf I humbly recommend her unto your Honour, and in like suit this gentleman, her solicitor, for his own causes therewith, albeit [they] especially concerne the Lord Treasurer (as money matters, for some debts due unto him in her Majesty's hands, by the right of his predecessor) yet for as much as he is one both learned and godly, and an assistant unto me in the Chancery, I could do no better than recommend him likewise unto your

Honour's good favour, to befriend him in his causes and suits there, if in any suit he shall be occasioned to crave the same. And so I leave him and his requeste to your honourable consideration and yourself in the hands of the Lord. From Dublin this xii<sup>th</sup> of May, 1584. Your Honour's ever to command, AD. DUBLIN, CANC. [Addressed] To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary. [Endorsed] 12 May, 1584. From the B. of Dublin in favour of the wife of the late B. of Meath.

## LVII.

*The opinion given by the Crown Lawyers in Dublin to the Lords Justices of Ireland, concerning the case of archbishop Hurley, and stating that he could not be tried at common law for things committed beyond the seas.*

1584, June 1.

[Holograph.]

"Our humble duties recommended unto your Honours—having, according to your Lordships' direction, conferred whether treasons committed in the parts beyond the seas may by her Majesty's laws be tried within this realm, it appeareth unto us that before the statute made in the 35th year of our late sovereign Lord, King Henry the VIII., it was doubtful in England whether such foreign treasons might be tried within that realm. For remedy whereof, the said statute was made and provided, as in the preamble thereof is set down, which statute is not confirmed nor established in this realm. Wherefore, and for that we find no



precedent for any such trial, and that the rules of common law appoint no ordinary trial for things beyond the seas, our opinion is that things, committed without the realm, may not be tried here by order of her Majesty's laws. And so we humbly take our leave. Dublin, the 1st of June, 1584. Your Honours' humbly to command, ROBT. DILLON; LUCAS DILLON; EDMONDE BUTLER; WILLM. BATHE; EDWARD FITZ SYMONS; GEORGE DORMER; RICHARD BEALINGE; RICH. SEDGRAVE.

## LVIII.

*Loftus and Wallop to Walsingham, informing him that archbishop Hurley had been executed on the 19th of June.*

1584, July 9.

[Holograph.]

"It may please your Honour—Having, by your letter unto us of the 29th [query 28th?] of April, received her Majesty's resolution for the course to be holden with Hurley, namely that we should proceed to his execution (if it might be) by ordinary trial by Law, or otherwise by Law Martial, and having thereupon caused the lawyers and judges here to set down their resolute opinion in that matter, which was, that he could not be tried by course of her Majesty's common laws (as may appear by the copy enclosed) we thought meet, according to our directions, to proceed with him by the other way. And for our farewell, two days before we delivered over the sword, being the 19th of the last [June] (with the consent of the Lord

Deputy) we gave warrant to the Knight Marshal, in her Majesty's name, to do execution upon him, which accordingly was performed, and thereby the realm well rid of a most pestilent member, who, notwithstanding the appearing of his treasons—even until he was given to understand her Majesty's resolute pleasure and our determination in that behalf—was continually in hope, and [in a manner] in an assured expectation of some means to be wrought for his enlargement, if he might have found that favour to have had his time prolonged but to the end of our government. Thus much we thought good to signify unto your Honour of our proceedings in that behalf, to be imparted unto her Majesty and the Lords, as your Honour shall see cause, and in the meantime do receive no small comfort by your Honour's signification of her Majesty's good reception and allowance of our careful and zealous travail in that matter.

Wherein as we have done but our duties, so we will not (God willing) at any time omit to perform the same, in like sort as occasion shall be offered, especially in such matters as so highly concern the glory of God and her Majesty's crown and dignity. To whom we accompt we owe not only all our endeavours, but also our lives and ourselves. And so for the present, we betake your Honour to the tuition of the Almighty." Signed "AD. DUBLIN, CANC.—H. WALLOP."

## LIX.

*W. Fohnes to Walsingham, announcing the consecration of the new Primate, Fohn Long, and giving an account of the deplorable state of the Irish Church.*  
From Dublin.

1584, July 14.

[Extract.]

The Primate John Long was consecrated "on Monday last," the 13th of this month. There is great hope he will execute "the office of the Lord's workmaster." [Primate Lancaster died on some day between the 18th of March, 1583 (on which day Loftus wrote to Walsingham that the Primate was then alive), and the 15th of May, 1583 (the date of the probate of the will of bishop Brady, who was at Lancaster's funeral). The Primacy then remained vacant for thirteen months. The Queen refused to nominate, and on the 13th of December, 1583, referred the choice of a Primate to Perrott the Deputy, Loftus, and the Council. The warrant of the Deputy and Council for the appointment of Long bears date the 11th of July, 1584, and was signed by Loftus and Thomas Jones, bishop of Meath. As Long was consecrated on the 13th, which was Monday, and as the 12th fell on a Sunday, there must have been remarkable haste evinced by the officials in preparing the necessary documents. Twenty-four hours sufficed, it seems, on this occasion, to fulfil the various "statutory and canonical requirements." "The presumption of law" is, however—according to some authorities—that "such solemn transactions were rightly performed," and that the provisions of canons and statutes were "regularly followed!"]

Johnes writes:—"There are here even in that part of the country which should be best reformed, so many

churches fallen down, so many children dispensed withal to enjoy the livings of the church, so many laymen (as they are commonly termed) suffered to hold benefices, so many clergymen tolerated to have the profits of three or more pastoral dignities, who being themselves unlearned, are not meet men (though they were willing) to teach and instruct others—as whoso beholdeth this miserable confusion and disorder, and hath any zeal of God in his heart, must not chuse but make the same known, especially unto such as bestow their whole care and travail to reform these enormities, and would, no doubt, be glad to see those decays and ruins of religion built up again.”

“I trust my Lord will so countenance the Lord Primate, or rather join with him in this great and good work, that ere long the ragged and deformed church of Ireland shall look with a more comely face and form, than it doth at this present ; but encouragements continually from thence is thought will be the best means to bring to good success their good purposes here.”

## LX.

*Sir H. Wallop to Walsingham, in favour of the suit of Alice, relict of bishop Hugh Brady.*

1584, May 7.

[Holograph.]

It may please your Honour—Mrs. Brady, late wife unto the Lord Bishop of Meath, deceased, having some occasion of suits there unto her Majesty and the Lords—being not herself in state to travel thither—hath thought good to employ this gentleman, Mr. John Ball, her kinsman (one of the Masters of the Chancery here) in the solicitation of her causes there, and for

his better furtherance therein hath craved my letters unto your Honour in her favour.

With respect of her present desolate estate I could not deny her, and the rather for that as the gentlewoman herself seemeth to be one of modest and virtuous behaviour, so the great commendations I have heard of the gentleman her father, Mr. Doctor Weston, late Lord Chancellor of this Realm, maketh me the more desirous to do her any good I may, as I doubt not but your Honour (who have had better knowledge of his services here) will in like sort (for his sake) stand affected towards her in her lawful causes.

And so leaving the same to your Honour's good favour and furtherance, I humbly take leave of your Honour, craving pardon of my continual boldness in troubling your Honour in this manner. At Dublin this 7th May, 1584. Your Honour's always at command—H. WALLOP. [Addressed] To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight, Principal Secretary to her Majesty, give these.

### LXI.

*The petition of Miler Magrath, archbishop of Cashel, in which he complains of the alienation of certain "College" estates appropriated to the Cathedral service in Cashel; and of the Sheriff of Limerick who taxed the Cashel clergy for the erection of bridges; and also mentions the want of an Episcopal residence; and prays for a body guard of horse and foot to the number of one hundred men to protect him.*

1584, July.

[Extracts.]

"Time out of mind there hath been a certain

College erected, and endowed with certain lands," &c., "by one of the Petitioner's predecessors, for the maintenance of eight singing ministers, a clerk, and one organist, annexed and always belonging to the Cathedral church of St. Patrick's of Cashel. Until of late one John Crofton, Escheator, and George More, have found—by the verdict of a packed jury for that purpose—the said lands, tenements," &c., "to be concealed; and under pretence thereof have obtained a grant to themselves with a small rent of four pounds reserved to her Majesty. By which means the said church is destitute of ministers to celebrate divine service, such being the second principal see of that realm."

He complained also that the Sheriff of Limerick had made the Cashel Clergy contribute to the erection of bridges, &c.

Also that the principal house belonging to the see of Cashel was ruinous by reason of the civil wars, and that there was no house remaining fit for him to live in.

Also that all the livings in Emly were sequestered for first fruits by Mr. Arthur Hyde.

"*Item*—Whereas the petitioner his next predecessor, for want of a sufficient guard, was taken prisoner by a pretended bishop, created Archbishop of Cashel by the Pope, who being hardly intreated during the said imprisonment died shortly after his enlargement—and likewise through the same defect the late Reverend father Nicholas Walsh, bishop of Kilkenny, was slain in his own house—and also the petitioner, travelling from his house to Dublin, about her Majesty's affairs, was by certain evil disposed men robbed of all his money and horses, and wounded in seven places in his body," &c. Therefore he prays to have a body guard of "armed

horsemen and footmen, so many as he shall think good, under the number of 100, for his safeguard," &c.

## LXII.

*Memorials (by Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy, and the Council) touching the present state of Ireland, containing, inter alia, an account of the submission and recantation of a bishop and a friar before Sir John Perrott. The friar was Thomas Burke (brother to Mac William) who, in 1582, had a custodiam of Kilmacduagh, and in 1585 was called "bishop elect" of that see. His name has hitherto been supposed to have been "Banckes."*

1584, August 6.

[Extract.]

"Lastly the suspected bishop Malachias Amalone, and a friar [Thomas Burke], brother to McWilliam Eighter, did openly renounce the Pope, swear to the supremacy, and the friar gave over his habit presently, and both made public profession of their faith and recantation. I [Sir John Perrott] increased the Schoolmaster's fee at Galway without her Majesty's charge and entered into some reformation of matters of religion which by Parliament shall be better provided for hereafter."

## LXIII.

*Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy, to Walsingham, suggesting that St. Patrick's Cathedral should be converted into Law Courts, and its revenues applied to found two Universities. From Dublin.*

1584, August 21.

[Extract.]

Here be in this little city [Dublin] two great Cathe-

dral Churches, richly endowed and too near together for any good they do—the one of them dedicated to St. Patrick, had in more superstitious reputation than the other dedicated to the name of Christ, and for that respect only, though there were none other, fitter to be suppressed than continued—Being suppressed, it would be converted to these good uses.

Istly—Whereas there is no place here for the law, save only an old hall in this castle (as I am sure you know), and the same very dangerously over the munition and powder, where a desperate fellow, by dropping down a match, might haply mar all, this church [St. Patrick's] which is roomy and large, would serve the turn for all the several courts, though the law should be (as I hope it may be) far better frequented than it is.

Besides there is great want of a store house for grain and other provisions, and no place fit for it, whereby the loss in victuals is the more.

The Canons' houses that environ the Church, would aptly serve for an Inn of Court, to bestow the judges and lawyers in, and the house they now have, lying commodiously by the river, would serve for a store house.

The Church and buildings being converted to these good uses, the livings of the same, about 4000 markes by the year, would begin the foundation of two Universities, endowing a couple of colleges with £1,000 a year a-piece, the residue to be annexed to Christ Church, whereby Christ may devour St. Patrick, and, I hope, a number of his devoted followers too.



## LXIV.

*Sir J. Perrott, Lord Deputy, to Walsingham, concerning the conversion of St. Patrick's into Law Courts and into two Universities; and mentioning that he had sent over two boys (Clanrickard's and O'Rourke's sons) to be educated; and also that he had sent, for Lady Walsingham, St. Columkill's cross. From Dublin.*

1584, October 20.

[Extracts.]

"I wrote heretofore at large to my Lord Treasurer and you, for the conversion of St. Patrick's to good uses, the church to the law, and the living towards the erection of two Universities; there is no man can gainsay it with reason, and if any will impugn it for private lucre, I do not think him worthy to be heard. We have beside it in the heart of this city Christ's Church, which is a sufficient Cathedral; so as St. Patrick's is superfluous, except it be to maintain a few bad singers to satisfy the covetous humours of some that eat up most of the revenue of that church, and to maintain the superstition of some, as much or more devoted to St. Patrick's name than to Christ's. I pray you therefore, further my motion, and help me to leave behind me some monument of a favourer of learning, and a furtherer of so great a good to this miserable state."

"I send now over to her Majesty, the Earl of Clanrickard's son and heir, the young Lord of Dunkellin, and also O'Rourke's son and heir, both which I have taken as pledges. They are pretty quick boys, and would with good education, I hope be made good members of Christ and this Commonwealth, and therefore I humbly pray you to procure that some care may

be had of them, and their parents shall bear most of their charge."

"For a token I have sent you Holy Columkill's cross, a god of great veneration with Surley boy and all Ulster, for so great was his grace; as happy he thought himself that could get a kiss of the same cross. I send him unto you, that when you have made some sacrifice unto him, according to the disposition you bear to Idolatry, you may, if you please, bestow him upon my Lady Walsingham, or my Lady Sidney, to wear as a jewel of weight and bigness, if not of price and goodness, upon some solemn feast or triumph day at the Court."

#### LXV.

*The Prebendaries of St. Patrick's, Dublin, to the Lords of the Council in England, stating that the only preachers in Ireland were four bishops and themselves. They say neglect of religion is the cause of rebellion, and describe the kind of service performed by the curates of impropriate parishes.*

1584, December.

[Abstract.]

The only cause of all stealths, robbings, murders, tumults, and rebellion in Ireland, is the want of the knowledge of God.

The cause thereof is only idleness—first in the Laity, which are generally given to idleness—then in the Ministry, which generally is unlearned. There is not one in that land to be found which can or will preach the Gospel, four bishops and the Prebendaries of St. Patrick's only excepted. This is lamentable with God's people.

"There is an infinite number of impropriate churches in Ireland, all being in her Majesty's hands and her farmers. There is not in any one impropriation a preacher. There is scant a minister to be found among them but rather a company of Irish rogues and Romish priests," teaching nothing but traitorous practices—all in a manner enemies by profession to God's true Religion.

This cometh chiefly by the wantonness of her Majesty's farmers, who for the most part allow not the minister above 40<sup>s</sup> or 3<sup>d</sup> by the year, and therefore seeketh a priest that will serve his cure cheepest, without regard to the person or quality, and then this curate, to make his stipend as he may live upon, travelleth like a lackey to three or four churches in a morning—every church a mile or two miles asunder—and there once a week *readeth them only a Gospel in Latin*, and so away—and so the poor people are deluded.

#### LXVI.

*Archbishop Loftus to Burghley, protesting against the suppression of St. Patrick's Cathedral.*

1585, March 18.

[Extract.]

The archdeacon of Dublin [Henry Usher, who was afterwards Primate] has returned to Dublin with report of his success in the suit exhibited in behalf of St. Patrick's Cathedral. Nothing is to be done without the consent of the archbishop. The Deputy has

only good intentions in his design for the dissolution of St. Patrick's. "But this, My good Lord, is the case, my church standeth not upon temporalities, as all churches in England do, but every dignity and every prebend is a parsonage with cure of souls, saving only a little demesne lands in the country for the dean and the chaunter. No impropriation belonging to all St. Patrick's. But the dean, the two archdeacons, chaunter, treasurer, and prebendaries, all parsons without vicars endowed, all divines or ought to be, for so the foundation requireth. The church of Christchurch neither hath, nor is able to maintain, one preacher."

"Then, My Lord, behold the state of this wretched country. In all the whole realm there is not one preacher (three bishops excepted, of whom two were preferred out of this church) but only in St. Patrick's. These preachers must be removed, and as it were banished, in hope that, twenty years hence, some divines may spring out of a lecture to be instituted in the intended College. In the mean season the several cures of the incumbents of this church must be left to the unlearned stipendiaries. The archbishoprick must neither have archdeacon to visit (for Christchurch hath none) neither hath he one church in the realm whereunto to present a learned man; a perpetual indignity to all my successors, archbishops, which since the conquest have been all Englishmen (one only excepted), and all in more than ordinary credit here with their sovereigns."

\* \* \* \* \*

"I might say schools are provided for, in every county here. Oxford and Cambridge are not far off, all under our dominion, but this will not satisfy."

If the scheme of the Lord Deputy be adopted by the Queen, Loftus intends to resign his archbishopric.

## LXVII.

*Sir H. Wallop to Walsingham, in reply to a suggestion thrown out by Walsingham that Wallop should be made Deputy of Ireland. He mentions that the religion of the people was a thing not to be meddled with, and says that Loftus was an undesirable colleague in government, owing to his selfishness and pride.*

1585, April 8.

[Abstract.]

Wallop gives a series of reasons for not wishing to undertake the government of Ireland. First he is unworthy. Next—he knows how little duty or affection this people in general bear to her Majesty, joined with the hatred they bear not only to English government but also to all our nation, and how far they differ from us in religion, for which they may not be touched, and how affectionate they are to the Pope and the Spaniard. As to serving jointly with Loftus, Wallop thus objects:—I found when we were last joined my colleague chiefly sought his own profit, and the pleasuring of his friends, which are many in respect of the matches made, and to be made, with his children. Besides by nature he is, and always hath been, inconstant, and oftentimes passionate, and now will happily be higher-minded than formerly, in respect of the countenance he hath had against the Lord Deputy. He is a very good preacher and pity he is not employed only therein.

Wallop also mentions his own lack of friends at the

Court in England—her Majesty's temporising course hitherto—and the opposition which the Earl of Ormond gave to all governours.

## LXVIII.

*The archbishop of Armagh to Walsingham, relating his attempts to convert the bishop of Achonry, who had been committed unto him by the Deputy for that purpose. The bishop of Achonry, of whose conversion the Primate here writes, was in two years afterwards an active promulgator of the Trent decrees in Ulster.*

1585, June 4.

[Extract.]

“Owen O'Harte, bishop of Achænsis, alias Achaden-sis, committed unto me by his Lordship to be conferred with, who was at the Council of Trent, is brought by the Lord's good direction to acknowledge his blindness, to prostrate himself before her Majesty, whom he afore agreed to accurse in religion, so persuaded as I doubt not of great goodness to insue by his means, he hath renounced his bishoprick, and no doubt, void of all temporising, is thoroughly persuaded that the man of sin sitteth at Rome under pretence of the seat of God. And I assure your Honour, if we used not the people more for gain than for conscience, here would the Lord's work be mightily preferred.”

## LXIX.

*The archbishop of Armagh to Walsingham, informing him that many gentlemen refused to become Justices of the Peace, because they would not take the oath of supremacy. He says there were not forty Irishmen who relished the Reformed religion, and recommends strong measures to be taken.*

1585, July 8.

[Abstract.]

Many of the gentlemen refuse to be justices of the peace, pretending their disability, but in deed refusing the oath of her Majesty's supremacy. They have been dealt with by the Chancellor, myself, and the Lord of Meath, openly before the Council, and yet perversely stand in their conceived opinion.

It is a hard thing to be thought of that the land is not able to afford, of the birth of the land, forty Christians, which have the taste of the true service of God, and how then can they be true-hearted to her Majesty!

I humbly request your honour it may be considered, that we revenge when time serveth (such is our crooked nature) injuries offered to us in external things. How much more do we wish to be freed from them and to be able to overmatch them, which we think offer us oppression in spiritual things. We in policy may salve this, but in Christianity it will break out to an old festered sore, if God's work be done negligently. I assure your Honour, the Deputy now placed runneth the right course towards this Reformation, and, if he be not cross beaten, will deliver you a new proportioned Ireland both to God's glory and her Majesty's safety.

## LXX.

*John Shearman, Schoolmaster, to the archbishop of Armagh, explaining why he left Waterford and describing the sad state of religion there.*

1585, July 12.

[Abstract.]

Not one couple above twenty married according to her Majesty's injunctions, but handfasted or married at home with a mass. They never christen their children but in their houses, either with a man priest, or for want of him (which commonly the wealthiest of them want not) the women themselves christen. Their dead they bury not if they can choose, but tumble them into the grave like swine, without any word of service or any minister. If they come to church, they walk round about like mill horses, chopping, changing, making merchandize, so that they in the Quire cannot hear a word, and those not small fools but the chief of the city.

The ministers, for fear of those brutish and savage lions, be almost afeard to come near the sheep folds.

He was driven out of the place and wrote this to explain the cause of his departure to the archbishop.

## LXXI.

*Sir H. Wallop to Walsingham, in commendation of Mr. Geoffrey Fenton.*

1585, June 15.

[Holograph.]

Sir—Being occasioned by this bearer, Mr. Secretary Fenton, his present employment thither from the Lord



Deputy, to accompany him with the best testimony I could of my good will towards him, I could not make choice of any rather to recommend him unto, than unto your Honour, whom I know of your own inclinations to be favourably disposed to men of quality and desert, as this gentleman is. He hath bestowed now five years in her Majesty's service here, and hitherto reaped no recompense of certainty [?] from her Highness for the same, but now (as I suppose) intendeth some suit there for his better enabling—having lately married a poor gentlewoman here (daughter unto Dr. Weston, sometime Lord Chancellor of this Realm, and late wife to the old bishop of Meath, deceased) whose womanly behaviour and modesty is her greatest wealth. In respect whereof, I am the rather to intreat your Honour to stand favourable to him in his reasonable suits.

And so I leave him to your Honour's good consideration and yourself to the protection of the Almighty. From Dublin this XV<sup>th</sup> of June, 1585. Your Honour's always at commandment, H. WALLOP. [Addressed] To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight, Principal Secretary to her Majesty, Give these at Court. [Endorsed] 15 June, 1585, Sir Henry Wallop commendeth Mr. Geffry Fenton.

## LXXII.

*Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy, to Burghley, in reply to complaints against his Government. He says he had not been indiscreet in religious matters—that the oath of supremacy had not been universally tendered,*

*nor enforced by severe penalties—the justices who refused the oath had merely been summoned before the Star Chamber—and that he had quarrelled with archbishop Loftus, not about St. Patrick's, but for his underhand conduct.*

1585, September 24.

[Abstract.]

First :—For religion—How much I am to ask God forgiveness for being therein more politically slack than religiously forward, your lordship may understand by that I have written to her Majesty in that point—being one of the three wherein her Majesty doth sharply note in me a want of discretion.

Next :—For tendering of the oath of supremacy. I have therein also answered her Majesty at large. It hath not been universally tendered, as it seemeth hath been there informed, but only to justices of the peace and other officers, as the law in that case doth necessarily exact. And when your Lordship doth conceive it might breed a general fear of endangering men's lives and loss of lands and other things, it may please your Lordship that is one doubt cast abroad more than needed. For there is no law here in force to touch any man in that sort. And in respect thereof I, and this council, have in discretion thought good to bind those few justices of the peace, that have made refusal, to answer the matter in the Star Chamber.

For the other doubt that groweth hereof, and the dangers that may arise by more straineth offering of it here than her Majesty useth it there, where more preaching and teaching is, as I say again, the dealing therein is maliciously reported, as is the doubt cunningly cast to make you fear shadows there more than we fear bodies here.

As to Poyning's Act I was spitefully encountered underhand by the Earl of Ormond. The Parliament is made fruitless, and I hope her Majesty will dissolve it by my present revocation.

As to St. Patrick's you yourselves directed me to act as I did—For the archbishop I did not quarrel with him about that, but about his double and underhand dealings about it.

## LXXIII.

*A draft of a Letter from Walsingham to the archbishop of Armagh, deploring the state of the Church in Ireland, but proposing no remedy. Walsingham refuses to allow the enforcement of the law touching the punishment of those who refuse the oath of supremacy, and rebukes the forwardness of the Deputy who wished to use severity.*

1585, December.

[Abstract.]

By two letters of your Lordship, dated the 7th of June and the 8th of July, I have been made acquainted with the miserable state of the Church of Ireland, which grieveth me much to think upon, and the rather for that I see no hope of any remedy to be applied to it. The court of Faculties I doubt not is a stop to the Reformation, and I will be ready to push my furtherance at all times to restrain or amend it.

Touching the refusal of the oath of supremacy by the gentlemen of the Pale, which your Lordship thinketh it meet to be punished with severity, the matter hath been considered here. And in respect of their

rawness in religion, making the said oath a matter of conscience, it is thought not convenient they should be brought unto it by compulsion against their conscience, but even with time by instruction and labour of those to whose charge it doth belong. And indeed considering our manner of proceedings here, the time is not fit for severity.

Touching the Lord Deputy's purpose and his mind towards the Reformation of the country, it cannot be doubted but that his intention was very honourable that way. But his course hath not been agreeable to our humour. He might have lived in better season in the time of King Henry VIII., when princes were resolute to persist in honourable attempts. But our age hath been given to other manner of proceedings, whereunto the Lord Deputy must be content to conform himself as other men do. And so I leave your Lordship to the protection of the Almighty.

## LXXIV.

*Sir H. Wallop to Walsingham, concerning the murder of Nicholas Walsh, bishop of Ossory.* From Dublin.

1586, January 6.

[Extract.]

"I doubt not but your Honour hath been advertised of the villanous murder of the good bishop of Ossory, committed upon him by one James Dullerde. He was the only man of his coat, that ever I knew born in this country, that did most sincerely know and teach the Gospel."

The murderer was killed, because he would not

suffer capture, and his head was brought by Donnell Spanniagh and Cahir Carroughe his brother—both Cavanaughes of the sept of Arteboy, and lately become, in a sort, my followers.

## LXXV.

*Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy, to Walsingham, concerning the case of John Vulp, or Wolfe, archdeacon of Glendaloch, whom the archbishop, Loftus, had deprived, and whose dignity was given to John Ball the Vicar General. Loftus seems to have deprived some other clergymen, who were befriended by the Deputy.*

1586, January 19.

[Extract.]

“Of Mr. Carlill and Doctor Vulp I have written unto you a good while since, and now lately of Birde, and do hope you are satisfied of my well dealing with them. Nevertheless let me, I pray you, add thus much touching Mr. Vulp. That whereas the archbishop deprived him of that dignity without my knowledge or consent, as I have already written unto you, I have taken order with the Dean, that he shall not install one Ball, the new incumbent that is to be admitted in Vulp's place, by the archbishop's presentation, or by the right of any former advowson.”

“It is as much and all that I may do. For if I had or yet would or might intrude myself into the archbishop's jurisdiction, he would soon inveigh against me as a disturber of his proceedings in his new pretended Reformation. But I will little weigh that, in respect

of you, so as I might have lawful ground to work upon and to uphold my rights. And therefore I shall be ready to give any reasonable strength and execution I may to any process that on Vulpe's behalf shall come over upon his appeal there, or otherwise be ready to do whatsoever you shall think I may do for him."

## LXXVI.

*Sir H. Wallop to Walsingham, relating some particulars concerning bishop Walsh of Ossory, who was murdered.* From Dublin.

1586, January 19.

[Extract.]

Nicholas Walsh, bishop of Ossory was wholly addicted to study, and died poor.

He left "four infants of his own, and two others of his sister's children, which for charity's sake (being fatherless and motherless) in his lifetime he brought up and relieved as his own." His wife is an Englishwoman and goes to England to seek relief for maintenance of herself and the children.

## LXXVII.

*Sir R. Bingham, President of Connaught, to Walsingham, praying that Rowland Lynch may be made bishop of Kilmacduagh.* From Roscommon.

1586, January 26.

[Extract.]

Rowland Lynch, born in the town of Galway, now

student of Divinity in Cambridge (where he was formerly placed by Walsingham's letters, at the request of Sir Nicholas Malby) is recommended for the bishopric of Kilmacduagh "for his better enabling to set forth God's word in his native country, now altogether ignorant in the same. The party hath been very well recommended unto me for his learning, good life, sufficiency and zeal in religion, and is determined to come over and to preach here, where indeed he may do much good, the rather for that the inhabitants of Galway are, for the most part, very well affected in religion already and more given to embrace the doctrines of the Gospel generally than any people in Ireland. And if they had a good preacher, being so well bent already, it would come in short time to very good perfection, both in town and country. To which end I know no fitter person than the said Lynch, being their countryman and of honest parents, whereby his credit is like to be the greater among them, and a great deal the better able to perform so good a work. Which is the chiefest thing to be wished for to reforme his nation, who of all others are most given to papistry and superstition. Howbeit, it is a rare thing to find an Irishman meet for the purpose."

"I am thereby the bolder to recommend him unto your Honour; humbly beseeching the same to be a mean for him to her Majesty, that it would please her Highness to bestow the bishopric of Kyll m<sup>c</sup>cowghe als Duacensis, near Galway aforesaid, upon him, being of the yearly value of Forty pounds or thereabouts. The most part thereof is waste, and not inhabited, and if it be not given unto him, being a preacher and ready to supply that room, it is to be feared that some unfit person shall have it which will be rather an enemy than a favourer of God's word."

"Wherefore if your Honour like of this motion, I beseech you to procure her Majesty's letter for the same bishopric to be passed for the said Lynch, that his friends may reap the commodity of it to his use, until his return to this land to take the charge of it himself, which will be within this Twelve months at the farthest. And as for Francis Martin, now solicitor of his cause unto me, I assure your Honour I find him a very dutiful and well disposed man, and, as I am credibly informed, [he] hath been always the only stay of religion in Galway and the chief bringer up and maintainer of the said Lynch from his childhood and by whose means he came to the knowledge of the Gospel, for the which he deserves favour and commendation."

## LXXVIII.

*Archbishop Loftus to Burghley, recommending Richard Thompson, Treasurer of St. Patrick's, Dublin, for the bishopric of Ossory, and saying that Garvey, the bishop of Kilmore, whose removal to Ossory was recommended by other persons, was inclined to Papistry.*  
From Dublin.

1586, March 1.

[Extract.]

Loftus speaks of the lamentable murder of Nicholas Walsh, late bishop of Ossory, "in his own house." Walsh had been "preferred out of St. Patrick's," and "did much good in God's church, but lacking both stoutness and policy in government we found the want of a good minister for her Majesty's behoof there



during his incumbency. The place itself, whether regard be had of the incivility of the people, or their backwardness in religion, doth chiefly stand in need of both a learned minister and a discreet man. And being the chief bishopric in my province, subject to my metropolitan jurisdiction, I could no less do than put your Lordship in remembrance of the preferment of some meet and sufficient person to that see. And having a long time had due trial of the sufficiency for learning and honest conversation of Mr. Thompson, the Treasurer of my Cathedral church of St. Patrick's, I have thought good specially to recommend him to your Lordship, humbly beseeching you to be a mean for his preferment to that see."

"It may be some others, which have not so inward a care of God's church as seemeth them, have written in the favour of some others ; as I have learned by constant report, that Mr. Garvey, already bishop of Kilmore, dean of Christ church and archdeacon of Meath—either of which two last is a competent stay of living for a good preacher—is commended also with those livings to enjoy the bishopric of Ossory, this archdeaconry, wherein his residence is necessarily required, being distant from Ossory very near four score miles. And he himself [is] now very aged, almost unable to travel—no preacher, and scarcely well thought of for religion, as one justly suspected to incline to Papistry, if he have any religion at all ; whereas Mr. Thompson, an Englishman born, is sufficiently known both for a good preacher and as for life, irreproachable."

[Mr. Thompson had been previously recommended for Meath. Ossory was bestowed on a Yorkshire man, John Horsfall. The foregoing statement of

Loftus, that bishop Garvey resided—not in Kilmore but in Meath, confirms the evidence (quoted in the author's Irish Reformation, page 68) of another State Paper, to the effect that Kilmore was altogether governed at this time by papal bishops. Garvey, the suspected Papist, was translated from Kilmore to the Primacy, in 1589.]

## LXXIX.

*Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy, to Walsingham, recommending bishop Garvey of Kilmore to be promoted to Ossory, and stating that he had previously recommended persons for other bishoprics, to which neither her Majesty nor any of her predecessors had ever made appointments.*

1586, March 7.

[Extracts.]

"I wrote"—says Perrott—formerly, "to have her Majesty's warrant to preferr Mr. Garvie, dean of Christ's, to the bishopric of Kilmore, over the county of Cavan, with a commendam for his deanery. It was granted and he was content to accept it at my request, as well to displace one substituted into it by the Pope's authority, as also to do some good amongst that rude, ignorant people, wherein he hath employed his best endeavours, not without some fruits. But now that the bishopric of Ossory is become void and that it were very requisite that that see were furnished with a fit man, I have thought good to recommend this man unto your furtherance to her Majesty for his remove from Kilmore thither with that commendam he hath."

"In mine opinion his long service, good deserts, grave years, great hospitality, and charges, that he hath and doth sustain, in erecting and repairing of monuments and churches in places where he hath to do, doth well deserve to be preferred from this small see, worth but thirty pounds a year, to another that is somewhat better—though not much."

"I have heretofore written to have other men preferred to other bishoprics that lie far remote, and some of them such as her Majesty or any of her progenitors have not in number of years presented any man unto. Amongst the rest, I specially recommended one Thomas Burke, a reconciled Jesuit, and son to the late MacWilliam, for the bishopric of Kilmacough [Kilmacduagh]; and another called Owen O'Connor, brother to Donnell O'Connor, of Sligo, and sometimes an exhibitor of her Majesty at Christ church in Oxford, to the bishopric of Killala. These two men have them in custodiam already, and her Majesty neither had nor hath any profit out of them."

"He of Killmacough hath the more deserved preferment for that he hath repaired, as I hear, the Cathedral Church, and part of the house, whereon was no cover these hundred years. My desire was the rather to prefer these men for the more strengthening of the voices for her Majesty in the upper House; but have received no directions yet concerning them; only you wrote over unto me that you would procure it."

## LXXX.

*Fenton to Walsingham, advising the translation of bishop Garvey to Ossory from Kilmore, which latter see may be left vacant for some time. From Dublin.*  
1586, March 27. [Abstract.]

The Deputy has written for the translation of the bishop of Kilmore to Ossory, and to permit Garvey to retain his livings in commendam.

The Brenny, which is in the jurisdiction of the bishop of Kilmore, is not so important as Ossory, which is "environed with loose and wanton borders." Kilmore may safely be left vacant for some time.

## LXXXI.

*Roger Wilbraham to Burghley, complaining of the damage done to the church by the excessive length of the leases which the bishops gave of their see lands, and proposing that episcopal leases should be limited to twenty years.*

1586, July 9. [Extract.]

"Our bishops, Cathedral churches, and clergy, make unconscionable long leases for two hundred and ninety-nine years, reserving small rents, which tendeth greatly to endamage the religion of our successors, when God shall call the country to the knowledge of his word and to the rule of civility. And, therefore, when these laws are defective, it were not amiss—if I were worthy to advise—if by instructions out of England they were upon their installations enjoined not to lease above twenty years, and those already invested to be prohibited."

## LXXXII.

*Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, to Burghley, complaining of the bishop of Meath, Thomas Jones, who had preached publicly against White and others. Sir Nicholas also protests against the exclusion of Irishmen from the Privy Council when matters of importance were to be considered. From Waterford.*

1586, July 10.

[Extracts.]

I wrote, says White, a letter to her Majesty, "with a few lines expressing my grief to be preached [at] in public pulpit for a matter so much importing her Majesty's service; without prejudice to the things whereof the preacher's pretended offer doth arise." And I "thought good first to acquaint your Honour therewith, to the end the same may be stayed or delivered, as to your wisdom may seem best."

"My good Lord, pardon my earnestness against these public expressions of a young prelate, whose years—in common judgment—serve better to con a sermon than to discern what may follow of the . . . thereof at this time in this land. This kind of proceeding breeds wishes in some that he had been spared till riper years, or that we, whose experience seems little in his sight, were better used or left to a private life. Howsoever Sir Lucas Dillon and myself might differ in other things, yet (our long continuance in service considered) we must join in one queremony against this hard dealing, and also humbly expostulate with your Honour as [regards the] article of instruments brought thither by Mr. Fenton, by which it is signified that in matters of necessity and importance the English Council shall be only used and the Irish forbidden."

## LXXXIII.

*A report, written by the archbishop of Armagh, John Long, to explain the dispute which arose in the Council Chamber between Sir N. White and the bishop of Meath. Sir Nicholas moved the Deputy not to enforce the oath of supremacy and to be tolerant in matters of religion. The bishop was for rooting out all Papists, and for enforcing the penal laws against recusants. The bishop not only urged his intolerant views in the Council chamber but also in the pulpit, publicly taxing the Deputy and Sir Nicholas with carelessness in executing the laws, and with intimacy with disaffected Councillors.*

1586.

[Extracts.]

Sir Nicholas White, at the Privy Council, moved the Deputy, Sir John Perrott, "to use tolerance in the matter of oath and religion, for which many gentlemen of the Pale were then called before his Lordship—whereof some were not thoroughly instructed and others were scarce at all taught, and [instruction] might draw them in matters of policy to good conformity."

"Which motion the bishop [of Meath] impugned (as he saith) then, but not contented with this, he in open pulpit took occasion to stir this controversy:—Whether magistrates may tolerate with Papists—for so he thinketh of them (as appeareth by his words) as Idolators, Papists, and Infidels."

"In which opinion he"—the bishop—"flatly affirmeth they cannot but rather root them out, for that they will be pricks in their eyes, thorns in their sides and

whips to their backs. And he"—the bishop—"privately digressed to tax the governour of carelessness in the execution hereof, and (as by inference appeareth) for having too much familiarity or trust with Councillors not well affected in religion, and contemning some one godly bishop whom he produced in the person of Ambrose, and yourself in the person of Simachus."

The Primate "misliked" this, because the dispute ought to have been terminated at the Council table, and should not have been made "a by-word and table talk through the whole land."

"The doctrine delivered by the bishop was that Christian princes must root [out] Idolatry, and not join in an unequal yoke with infidels. This is true divinity" [observes His Grace] "confessed by all men. But the bishop thinketh his doctrine to be impugned, because it was delivered by Mr. Powell (at whose sermon I was not) that princes might tolerate with Idolatry, for the strength of the Realm and the increase of God's church—so that they were not permitted publicly to commit Idolatry nor infect others, and had instructors provided for them."

The bishop of Meath "called the preacher" (Mr. Powell) "a maintainer of Idolatry"—"glanced at me" (the archbishop) "with unseemly words"—and "with want of discretion filled the people's ears with a vain buzz of contrarieties, entering into the particulars of this land [whose inhabitants]—after Twenty-six years' preaching of one especially [Loftus?] and others also—were not to be counted children but to be dealt withal sharply and punished severely."

The effect of all this—continues the Primate—is "mutiny in a matter of State;—the people being set in a maze what the Governour will do, being thus

excited and stirred up." "It will breed contempt of preaching" towards which the people were "hardly drawn before." And it will give them "a good excuse" to stay away, "when the pulpit shall be a lift to try out quarrels and not the chair of Moses to deliver out the laws of the Lord." It will also bring our own name—adds the Primate—"into controversy, and lay our imperfections and nakedness too open"—"making mountains of molehills and opening every scar in us to find out wounds, albeit they were sufficiently healed before."

## LXXXIV.

*Roger Wilbraham to Burghley, informing him that none of the bishops in Ireland, except three, had either paid or compounded their First Fruits, and that legal proceedings had been taken to compel them to pay.*  
From Dublin.

1586, December 5.

[Extract.]

"The bishops and clergy have been occupied in the Exchequer and there impeached, for non-payment of First Fruits, this term. They have, instead of payment, all demurred in law, and not one of them (bishop Walsh excepted, who is now dead) that have either paid or compounded according to the law and statute—saving such as have been pardoned; as my Lord Chancellor (Loftus) for divers livings, and the Primate of Armagh for his bishopric, have been."

I preferred information against divers of them, upon the penalty of the statute 26 Hen. VIII.

The bishop of Meath (Jones) was greatly offended thereat.



## LXXXV.

*The daughter of archbishop Loftus and her husband committed to custody by order of the Lord Deputy.*

1586, December 7.

[Abstract.]

Young Colclough and his wife—a daughter of archbishop Loftus—were committed to prison—he, for uttering unseemly and contemptuous speeches about the Deputy—she, for spreading a report that the Sergeant-at-arms was to apprehend her husband.

Archbishop Loftus wrote on the 6th of December for leave to go to England.

## LXXXVI.

*Considerations (by Sir W. Fytzwylliams, the Deputy) touching the state of Munster, in the twenty-ninth year of Elizabeth's reign. Not a church standing between Dublin and the extremity of Munster, convenient to repair unto, except in the Haven Towns—The clergy ought to be compelled to read the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in English or in Irish.*

1587.

[Abstract.]

The most principal matter is to take order that the church in all places be presently repaired—that prayers be there publicly said, every Sunday at the least, and the people on penalty compelled to repair to the same. For it is most true and lamentable that between Dublin and the furthest end of Munster there is not one church standing, convenient to repair unto,

except it be in the Haven towns. And although for the most part the incumbents are unlearned, yet might they be inforced to read the Lord's Prayer and the belief in English, and teach the same to his parish, or if he himself can read no English, then to learn it them in Irish, for so much is already translated, which might be tolerated, till it may please God to bestow upon them greater blessings.

## LXXXVII.

*Andrew Trollope to Walsingham, giving his impressions concerning Ireland—No Divine Service in the country, and but seldom in cities and walled towns—Not seven bishops able to preach—The bishops destroy the church property by leases—Wretched state of the clergy—Some of the bishops and dignitaries are Papists—Reconciliation of the bishop of Limerick to the Pope.*

1587, October 26.

[Extract.]

I have herein, without art or method, briefly bewrayed such things as I find amiss in this Realm, and decyphered the causes thereof. As first :—There is no divine service in the country, that all the churches in the country are clean down, ruinous and in great decay, and in those in cities and in walled towns is overseldom any service said, and yet that negligently repaired unto. Here are also above thirty bishopricks and not seven bishops able to preach ; and yet, those which be, by making of long leases, reserving small rents, and sundry sinister devices, so much impair their

sees, as, if they be suffered, all the bishopricks in Ireland, within few years, will not yield sufficient maintenance for one man worthy of this calling. The ordinaries and patrons here have so ordered the matter as most ministers are stipendiary men, and few have £5 a year to live on—the most not above 53s. 4d. In truth, such they are as deserve not living or to live. For they will not be accounted ministers but Priests. They will have no wives. If they would stay there it were well: but they will have Harlots which they make believe that it is no sin to live and lie with them and bear their children. But if they marry them they are damned. And with long experience and some extraordinary trial of these fellows, I cannot find whether the most of them love lewd women, cards, dice, or drink, best. And when they must of necessity go to church, they carry with them a book in Latin of the Common Prayer set forth and allowed by her Majesty. But they read little or nothing of it or can well read it, but they tell the people a Tale of our Lady or St. Patrick or some other saint, horrible to be spoken or heard, and intolerable to be suffered, and do all they may to dissuade and allure the people from God and their prince, and their due obedience to them both, and persuade them to the Devil the Pope. And sure the people so much hear them, believe them, and are led by them, and have so little instruction to the contrary, as here is in effect a general revolt from God and true Religion, our Prince, and her Highness' laws.

Here are many most unmeet men bishops, deans, archdeacons and chancellors, treasurers of churches, and such like spiritual officers, as some Papists, yea some reconciled to the Pope, as appeareth by a copy here inclosed.

[Inclosure.]

I William Cahessy, priest, sometime named bishop of the diocese of Limerick, yet nothing canonically consecrated, but, by the scismatical authority of Edward King of England, scismatically preferred to the bishoprick of Limerick aforesaid, wherein I confess to have offended my Creator, my soul and my neighbours, and to have suppressed the Catholic faith, not without great offence of all men and danger of their souls, have openly, in the Cathedral church, before the people, preached against the sacraments and rites of the church, and in my sermons have called the said Edward (to the intent I might obtain his good will), against my conscience, the supreme head of the church of England and Ireland—the altars dedicated to God I have destroyed—the communion of Heretics I have set forth to the clergy and people—and have compelled the Catholic priests thereunto against their consciences—and the name of the sacrifice of the Mass I have abolished. Alas—wretch that I am—I have committed many other evils, wherefore I wretched sinner, desirous to repent and to beware hereafter, being smitten inwardly with the sorrow of my heart for my wicked deeds, I will, if I may, be numbered among the sons of the Holy Mother of the Church and be united and reconciled to the same. And because that I know that that most gentle mother doth not shut her bosom to any that returns, neither doth she receive any man which doth not acknowledge himself to be hers by his confession, therefore, by this my confession—not compelled thereunto, but by mere good will, my conscience accusing me, for the satisfaction of my offence—I do confess and believe, as a Christian and a Catholic man ought to believe, all the

articles of the faith and all the sacraments of the church, and I believe that the Roman Church is the head of all Churches and that the bishop of Rome, Pius IVth [query Pius Vth], or any other being rightly and canonically elected and ordained in the Catholic see, is the Vicar of Christ in earth. I believe that he hath all power of binding and loosing by Christ, and do believe and hold whatsoever the Catholic Church doth believe and hold, and do detest all the errors, opinions, and ceremonies of Lutheran heretics or their sects—being estranged from the Catholic faith and instructions of old fathers. I renounce also, if I might have the same, the bishoprick of Limerick, the charge and administration of the said cure, also other benefits and privileges received from the said Edward, or other heretics and scismatics. And I draw unto the said holy and universal church, and do bow myself unto her laws, and I embrace the Rev. Lord David Wolfe, appointed the apostolical messenger for all Ireland from the most Holy Lord the Pope. And I pray and beseech that as a lost child he receive me again into the bosom of the Holy Mother of the Church, and that he will absolve me from all the ecclesiastical sentences, censures, punishments, heresies, rules and every other blot—dispense with me and reconcile me again to the unity of the same church. In assurance of which reconciliation, submission and confession, I have put and caused to be put, my seal, together with my own hand subscription.

There being witnesses

DAVID ARTHUR, DEAN [1557 to 1583]

THOMAS FANING, JOHN LYNCH, EDMOND ARTHUR  
and others

This was done about 16 years sithence.

Endorsed—A copy of a reconciliation, which as I am credibly informed, was within these 16 years made by the now bishop of Limerick in the presence of the now Dean of Limerick, whereof some of their names are thereunto written.

[The date of this Reconciliation was the year 1571, if it was signed sixteen years before the date of Trollope's letter. In that case "Pius the IV." was a mistake for Pius V. In 1572 Pius V. died. If Pius IV. was Pope when Casey was reconciled, this document must have been signed in an earlier part of Elizabeth's reign, for Pius IV. was Pope from 1559 to 1566.]

## LXXXVIII.

*Edward White to Sir Nicholas White, concerning some of the ships of the Spanish Armada which were wrecked. A bishop and a Friar were captured.*

1588, September 12.

[Abstract.]

Another great ship cast away in Tirawley. Seventy-two of her men were taken by Wm. Burke of Ardneny, and a bishop and a friar. Most of the rest slain or drowned. They were so miserably distressed coming to land, as one man, named Malaghlin McCalb, killed eighty of them with his gallowglass axe. We hear of none of the country that are joined with them.

## LXXXIX.

*Patrick Fox to Walsingham, concerning the Spanish ships in McSweeny's country and the conduct of the bishop of Derry. From Dublin.*

1588, September 26.

[Abstract.]

News come since the last packet that certain other

Spanish ships came into a haven in McSweeny's country, called Loughsullemore—that McSweeny joined with them and received them. McSweeny is a man of great power. O'Rourke will probably join him.

Also a great number of Spaniards, that were stripped naked by the soldiers that serve under the leading of the Hovedens, are now come to the Spaniards that landed in McSweeny's country and thither brought by the bishop of Derry, a most seditious Papist, and a man like to procure great aid to the Spaniards if he can.

## XC.

*Patrick Eustace to Sir Henry Bagenall concerning the shipwrecked Spaniards and the bishop of Derry.*

1588, October 16.

[Abstract.]

I was on Sunday last at Strabane, where O'Neil is and the bishop of Derry, and also there was a Friar of Donegal. And the bishop and the Friar were telling me that as many as scaped the two ships of the Spaniards that were drowned at McSweeny Banaghe's country went to the ship that is in McSweeny Duff's country, and there they are together, by report 1,500, and they are like to perish for lack of meat.

McSweeny will not sell them any more beeves or mutton lest his own people should want. They will go to the other ship.

The bishop himself goes away to Rome presently, and I judge he will go to Scotland or elsewhere in that ship.

## XCI.

*Fytzwylliams to Burghley, concerning the bishop of Down and Connor, a prisoner in the Castle, whom it is desirable to be rid of—and asking instructions how to deal with him—the method of premunire being useless. He sends also a copy of a commission from the bishop of Derry which was found on the person of the bishop of Down.*

1588, October 26.

[Extract.]

It may please your Lordship—There is a prisoner in this Castle, one Cornelius, bishop of Down and Connor, who, having lately escaped, had upon his apprehension found about him a commission—the copy whereof your Lordship shall receive enclosed—sent from the bishop of Derry, authorising him, as his Vice Primate, to grant pardons and indulgences. Who albeit a most pestilent and dangerous member and fit to be cut off, yet being informed that we cannot here otherwise proceed against him, otherwise than in the course of premunire, I humbly beseech your Lordship's directions and assistance for some other mean, whereby we may be rid of such an obstinate enemy to God, and so rank a traitor to her Majesty, as he no doubt is.

[Enclosure.]

Nos Redmundus, Dei et Apostolicæ sedis gratiâ Deren. Episcopus, ac totius Hiberniæ Vice primas, Rev<sup>ndo</sup> D<sup>no</sup> confratri N<sup>ro</sup> Cornelio, Dunen. et Coneren. Episcopo, quoniam propter imminentia pericula ac discrimina interitus vitæ, personaliter terras illas visitare nequimus, ad dispensandum cum omnibus, cum



quibus si presentes essemus, Brevis Apostolici auctoritate ac primitialis dignitatis, vices nostras ad annum integrum a tempore et (sic) presentium tenore hujus scripturæ, committimus ac potestatem absolvendi, omnes et singulos ad se concurrentes, a casibus tam episcopalibus quam papalibus, in foro saltem conscientiæ, injunctâ eisdem pro modo culpæ salutari penitentiâ, ad prædictum tempus concedimus et indulgemus. Dat. in ecclesiâ parochiali de Tamlar. 2 Julii, 1588.

REDMUNDUS Deren. Episcopus ac Vice primas.

## XCII.

*Archbishop Loftus to Burghley, recommending fines and imprisonment as a method to force the Irish to accept the Reformed religion.*

1590, September 22.

[Holograph.]

It may please your good Lordship—I have been lately made partaker of your Lordship's letter to my speciall good Lord, the Lord Deputy, wherein you lament the general corruption of this realm in the cause of religion, and do wish his Lordship and myself to enter into some speedy consideration how thesame may beremedied. I am thereby emboldened, humbly craving your Lordship's good acceptance, both at large to discover unto you the means and degrees by which this people are fallen into this general revolt and to signify mine opinion how they may be reduced to better conformity.

And looking back unto the times past, I cannot forbear to inform your Lordship of that which in mine

experience I know to be true :—that albeit there hath been in this people a general disposition to popery, as to a thing wherein they are misled, ever from their cradle, yet this general recusancy is but of six years continuance at the most, and began in the second year of Sir John Perrott's government, in the beginning of the parliament holden by him. Before which time I well remember, and do assure your Lordship, there were not in the pale the number of twelve recusants, gentlemen of account. But, since, they have grown to such obstinacy and boldness that it is to be feared—if some speedy remedy be not provided—upon pretence of religion they will shake off all duty and obedience. Before that time they were restrained by the Ecclesiastical Commission, and—howsoever they were affected inwardly in their consciences—yet outwardly they shewed great duty and obedience, in resorting to service, sermons and in receiving of the communion. In the beginning of the parliament, Sir Nicholas White, in the name of his countrymen, moved Sir John Perrott with sundry reasons before the most of this Council, to permit this people to have the liberty of their consciences and the free use of their religion, wherein they had been bred and brought up, assuring Sir John, that granting that unto them, they would not only condescend to the repeal of Poyning's Act but to any other reasonable motion which should be propounded in the parliament. His good success with the Lord Deputy at that time moved another of his country, one Edward Nugent, a lawyer, to come into the lower house with a premeditated speech in defence of the Mass and Romish religion, declaring the good success her Majesty's progenitors had while they embraced the Mass and the Catholic religion, as he

termed it, and the bad success which pursued the rejecting thereof.

By these encouragements, and by the bad example of some great personages of credit in this state, this people hath ever sithence grown to wonderful obstinacy and therein do persist unto this day—increasing in malice beyond all measure and utter detestation of religion. When we, the bishops of Dublin, Meath, and a few others well affected, perceived this declination, being authorised by her Majesty's High Commission for Ecclesiastical causes, we convented before us the principal gentlemen and such as we knew to be ring-leaders in this cause, seeking to draw them to better conformity. But so soon as they came before us we were forbidden by the then Lord Deputy to deal with them, who told us—but in truth never shewed the same—that he had received direction from their Lordships that this people should not be dealt with for matters of religion. And so we were restrained from proceeding any further. And presently it was bruited throughout the pale, that her Majesty's pleasure was that they should not be touched for their religion, but should be permitted to use the same at their pleasure, and so they did during the time of Sir John's government, wherein they took such heart and grew to such obstinacy that now they can hardly be reclaimed. The rather because those noblemen and principal gentlemen by their bad examples do daily draw them backward from the service of God established by her Majesty. And sorry I am that for discharge of my duty I must be forced to note unto your Lordship one particular man, well known to your Lordship, whose example doth of all others greatest hurt in the pale. I mean Sir Lucas Dillon, who, albeit he is both a

most grave and wise Councillor and of great experience in this State, yet his notorious recusancy and wilful absenting of himself from the Church these three or four years past (being drawn to this backwardness by his son-in-law, Mr. Rotchfort, a most malicious and dangerous instrument both against religion and this government) is a special provocation and mean to draw the greatest number of this people unto that general corruption wherein they live.

For redress whereof, your Lordship hath most wisely considered that the sword alone without the word is not sufficient. But yet I assure your Lordship their obstinacy now is such that unless they be inforced, they will not ever come to hear the word preached, as by experience we observed at the time appointed by the Lord Deputy and Council for a general assembly of all the noblemen and gentlemen of every county, after her Majesty's good success against the Spaniard, to give God thanks for the same. At which time, notwithstanding the Sheriffs of every county did their duties with all diligence, and warned all men to repair to the principal church in every county, wherein order was taken for public prayers and thanksgivings unto God, together with a sermon to be preached by choice men in every diocese, yet very few or none almost resorted thereunto, but even in Dublin itself the lawyers, in term time, took occasion to leave the town of purpose to absent themselves from that godly exercise—so bewraying in themselves, besides their corruption in religion, great want of duty and loyalty unto her Majesty, and giving just occasion unto us to conceive a doubtful opinion of them.

For preachers (God be thanked) my cathedral church and these civill dioceses hereabouts are

indifferently furnished, but it is almost a bootless labour for any man to preach in the country out of Dublin, for want of hearers—the people are grown to so general a revolt—which thing, notwithstanding, is not so far gone but in mine opinion it may be easily remedied without any danger and with great gain to her Majesty, if the Ecclesiastical Commission be restored and put in use, for this people are but poor and fear to be fined. If liberty be left to myself and such Commissioners as are well affected in religion to imprison and fine all such as are obstinate and disobedient, and if they persist—being men of ability to bear their own charges—to send them into England for example sake, I have no doubt but within a short time they will be reduced to good conformity.

If it be objected that this severe course may perhaps breed some stirs, I assure your Lordship there is no doubt of any such matter, for they are but beggars, and if once they perceive a thorough resolution to deal roundly with them, they will both yield and conform themselves. And this course of reformation, the sooner it is begun the better it will prosper—and the longer it is deferred the more dangerous it will be. All which I leave to your Lordship's wise consideration, and so, most humbly craving pardon for my wonted boldness, I commend your good Lordship, with my prayers, to God's best blessings. From Rathfarnham this xxii of September 1590. Your Lordship's humbly at command. AD. DUBLIN, CANC.

[Addressed] To the Right Honourable my singular good Lord the Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England.

[Endorsed] Causes of the general backwardness in Religion in that Realm, and how the same may be remedied, &c.

## XCIII.

*Sir George Bingham to Sir Richard Bingham, giving intelligence concerning the titular Primate Magauran and bishop O'Hely.*

1593, January 3.

[Extract.]

James Ocrean came lately out of the North from Hugh Roe O'Donnell, where, as he saith, he saw seven bishops. Some of them he named unto me; other some he could not name; but the chiefest among them was the bishop Magauran, whom the Pope hath made Lord Primate of all Ireland. They were in great council for two or three days together, and he made some great despatch of certain letters, which shall be sent out of hand (as James Ocrean saith), by bishop O'Hely, to the Pope and the King of Spain. He further learned of the Primate Magauran that the King of Spain came into France by wagon and brought his daughter with him to be married to the Duke of Guise—the Primate himself came in his company—and that the King determined to send two armies this next summer, the one for England, the other for Ireland, and the army that should come for Ireland should come by Scotland and land in the North, but their only want was to have some great man here to be (as it were) their leader or general, and have now thought Hugh Roe O'Donnell to be the most fittest for the same. The Primate Magauran also brought a warrant or licence from the Pope for Brian oge O'Rourke, and by virtue thereof to enjoy his father's country.

The Primate himself landed at Drogheda, and stayed there two or three days after his landing, all

which I thought good to signify unto you, that you may advertise the Lord Deputy thereof. And if it be his pleasure to lay privy weight at Drogheda, no doubt but bishop O'Hely may be apprehended, and with him all their practices will be found out.

And this, not having any thing else to trouble you withal at this time, &c. Ballymote, the third of January, 1593. Your most loving brother, &c., GEORGE BINGHAM.

(Postscript.)—This bishop Magauran, being made Primate, is now in Maguire's country, and is most relieved there.

#### XCIV.

*The Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland to Her Majesty's Privy Council in England, concerning the measures to be adopted for apprehension of the Titulary bishops. From Dublin.*

1593, March 19.

[Extract.]

By two of your Lordships' letters—of the vii<sup>th</sup> and xii<sup>th</sup> of the last month—it pleaseth your Lordships to give us special caution touching certain titular bishops, arrived in this Realm, and withdrawn into Tyrconnell and other parts of the North, with intent to move stir and trouble, which your Lordships' letters the rather induced [us] to believe by reason of some advertisement out of Scotland concerning like matter, and of intelligence, [concerning] the Irish of the borders and islands adjoining, importing tumult and trouble.

Forasmuch as it appeareth that this information for the bishops was grounded upon former letters of advertisement from Sir Rd. Bingham and for that both

by the nearness of his government to the places where it is thought they lurk—being O'Donnell's country and Maguire's country—and for other correspondency which he may have with some principal persons of those parts, we signified immediately unto him your Lordships' direction in that point, and sent him an abstract of your said letters concerning the bishops, requiring him to use all the means he could for their apprehension, whose answer, being now come, we have sent herewith to your Lordships. And nevertheless for that we would leave no means unassayed which were thought might tend to the performance of this service—and for that we doubt not but the greatest number of these Romagate bishops have their most frequent abode under O'Donnell—we sent for the Earl of Tyrone to come to us. Who, for alliance and other respects of friendship hath no small interest in O'Donnell, and by reason thereof we thought him the fittest instrument to deal with him in this or any other the like weighty services for her Majesty. At whose coming we did not only acquaint him with those parts of your Lordship's letters that concerned the apprehension of the bishops, but also, by our particular advice, we instructed him in what sort he should take his course both for the effecting of the service, wherein we found him most ready and willing to do as much as in him lay, for satisfying of her Majesty's and your Lordships' expectation. When any thing shall be advertised from the Earl, your Lordships shall be imparted therewith.

But for that clause in your Lordship's said letters of the xii<sup>th</sup> of the last month—where Sir Richard Bingham advertiseth that upon offer made by him to make some attempt to prosecute Magauran [the Roman Catholic archbishop of Armagh] one of the



chiefest of the said titular bishops, into Maguire's or O'Donnel's country, and that he was denied by us, for that we would first write and have answer from them—Sir Richard, being then present at council, and hearing that matter debated at large, might have been satisfied with the reasons and arguments there used, that for good respects for her Majesty's service, it was not thought meet to employ forces into either of those countries, but rather to make trial by some other easier way, and to attend a better opportunity to use prosecution. And yet it was left to Sir Richard to use any means he thought good within his own jurisdiction, for the apprehending of any of them; neither will we, for our parts, omit any industry or opportunity for the discovery and apprehension of them, though in most of the port towns in this Realm, and chiefly in Dublin, Waterford, and Tredagh, places where they most frequent and have their principal access, we have few or none that we may repose in." This paper was signed by Fitzwilliams, the archbishop of Dublin, the bishop of Meath, Fenton and Bouchier. Primate Magauran was killed in battle on the 3rd of July, 1593. Bingham's letter announcing the event is printed in the author's "Irish Reformation," 5th Edition, page 38.

## XCV.

*Sir Richard Bingham to Sir John Puckeringe, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, concerning the chieftains of Ulster and certain Titular bishops.*

1593, April 16.

[Extract.]

"This Province [of Connaught] very quiet, only our

bad neighbours of Ulster, O'Donnell and Maguire, do stand on ill terms, having divers titulary Romish bishops with them, which make believe of an invasion to be made from Spain, and they are ready to make a party for the Spanish King."

## XCVI.

*The Lord Deputy (Sir W. Fitzwilliams) and Council to Burghley, concerning the Titulary bishops.*

1593, April 20.

[Extract.]

[Postscript.] "According to your Lordship's former directions, touching the titulary bishops, the Council and I have laboured and devised, by all the means we may, to have them apprehended or banished, having used therein the Earl of Tyrone, with whom we have dealt as seriously and earnestly as we could, both by persuasion with himself and by letters, who likewise promised us as faithfully to use all his best endeavours in that behalf. But sithence he has not done anything neither do I think for my part that he will do."

[Addendum, in Fitzwilliam's own handwriting.]

"I find now by the Earl of Tyrone, that he is no more to be trusted for the apprehension or banishment of a Romish prelate, or any of that sort, than I am to be trusted by a Papist to banish a faithful dutiful subject to her Majesty."

## XCVII.

*The archbishop of Cashel, Miler Magrath, to the Lord Deputy, Fitzwilliams, and the Council, accusing the*

*Deputy of injustice, malice, and of a blood thirsty disposition towards him.*

1593, May 6.

[Holograph.]

Right Honourable, all duties remembered—If nature, by mere instinct, hath so carefully provided for all her creatures that every of them hath somewhat of itself to defend itself (as experience daily teacheth the same), I trust I shall not justly incur the touch of blame, if, for my own safeguard, I take the advantage which both nature, God, and her Majesty hath afforded me.

For a subject to repine at his Governour's proceedings is neither common nor commendable. And yet for a subject oppressed to smother up his offered violences and to be accessory to his own death is unchristian and self murder. As to rest is treason, so to reveal the truth is conscience. Many hard measures, during your Honour's government here, have diversely been offered me—my houses have been burned—my castles spoiled—my tenants predated [preyed upon]—my servants murdered—my goods extorted—and my own life many ways endangered. Yea, these grants, which her Majesty by patent passed unto me, your own self, upon bare surmises, have taken away from me. Well might I complain of these manifold injuries, but never could I find help or receive satisfaction, whereas all might easily have been prevented or punished, had not your private malice—pardon a true speech—so drowned public justice, that in my particular causes the sword committed to your hands should never be unsheathed. All which grievances I have so patiently digested as I never seemed to repine, much less to reprove the same, as the honourable purgation, which it pleased

the Lords of the Council of England, by their special letters in my behalf, to send your Honour, most manifestly proveth. So heavy did I conceive the burthen and so burthensome the charge.

But now, finding your jealous conceit so resolutely unremoveable, as neither her Majesty, nor her honourable Council's letters shall bear anysway with you—not part of any member of any their consents (though oft required and requested) taking any effect—but that my poor innocent life is most palpably bought, sold, and brought as a sheep to the slaughter (in whose overthrow an highway is opened to many inconveniencies), I am perforce enforced with the sorly worm, thus head crushed, to lift up myself and by every lawful way to work my own safeguard. My undertaken courses in England upon my arrival hither, I not only acquainted your Honour with, and that in more absolute and ample manner than there I promised (time and my friends will manifest the matter), but offered myself and many others to perform the same. All which was in such sort pointed at and disclosed that nothing is wanted but execution. And what ensued hereof? Truth, my Lord, hath the privilege to speak with plainness. So far was I an approved true subject—and so to your Honour recommended—so far I say I was from finding countenance to myself or service that my enemies, taking the advantage of your too manifest disgraces offered me and it, have won such instruments as once were found necessary even to your own Lordship, for performing the service, and offered themselves to yourself as able and willing thereto. Not only not to further these undertaken enterprises (a thing easily to persuade such to, either for fear of their own lives or hope of some great preferment) but to turn the edge of their malices against my own self—

libelling against me—suborning witnesses—procuring corporations' seals to my destruction—and, worse than all, the counterfeiting my own hand to my own utter harme. And all this, being acted by such persons as neither in life, living, behaviour or desert, are any way matching me, whether, notwithstanding, they have been favoured or disgraced, encouraged or checked, invited or forbidden, I leave to your own conscience to determine.

Hard, and most hard is the case, when your Honour appointed by her Majesty for her good, should so apparently, not only foreshew and neglect the means of performance thereof, but earnestly to persecute these that bend their utmost endeavours with manifest and imminent hazard of life to prefer the same. The persons, by me in my informations touched and charged—have they ever been called in question or any way urged to answer? I think not. The instruments, which were acquainted with the services, [had] written the informations, and protested their willingness in executing thereof, now becoming apostates—have they been examined of their backslidings? Have they been urged to reveal the cause and causes thereof, and accordingly punished? I believe not. Have I, opposing myself, in God and her Majesty's behalf, against the raging multitude, and submitting myself to your protection, once tasted your favourable countenance or forwardness in anything? God and this honourable table, to whom I appeal, knoweth the contrary. If to be an abettor and maintainer of my adversaries with horse and money (persons otherwise most miserable without such helps) is to admit felons, papists, seminary priests, as well privy foes as public enemies—yea, known traitors, without protection or pardon (unless for that cause protected) without check or discountenance boldly to repair to you and prodigally to utter whatsoever to

my prejudice—if to send for, undermine, exact, examine and to commit to close prison my own friends and servants, yea such as have been by the honourable council of England's letters authorised for instruments to the service, to enforce matters against me—if to grant commissions to the adversaries to pry, to sift, to search all my steps and course of life past—if these and infinite of such nature, too manifestly known and felt, be or may be called favours, countenances, or notes of friendly forwardness, then truly have I in great abundance tasted thereof. But if they are (as they are indeed) evident arguments of prepensed and rooted malice and plain prognostications of a bloodthirsty disposition and of [a thirst] of my blood especially, I hope I shall not unjustly be condemned if in such too plain extremities, for my own security, I appeal and fly to her sacred Majesty, the sanctuary and refuge of all distressed, and my most gracious mistress. To whom presently intending by God's permission to take my journey, I am charitably, and in her Highness' name and behalf, thus much to require of your lordship—that these late instruments now revolted, my present accusers, may be stayed, well seen to, and so dealt with, that their knowledges and discoveries may return to her Majesty's advantage—they privately whispering abroad that were there any indifferency shewed the archbishop and his causes, this their revolt had so interested [sic] themselves in the adversaries' bosoms, and so ripened their knowledges, that now they remain better able than ever to perfect what was undertaken.

Advising also that the informations by myself delivered, and by sundry upon their examinations (whose names are mentioned in the said informations) ready to be proved, may not in any sort be neglected, but

all tending to her Majesty's infinite good and this country's great reformation, may be duly and presently put in execution. This is my last request and farewell. God turn all to his glory, her Majesty's benefit, and this poor island's good. I have presumed in the indorsion of my letter to join the body of the Council with your Honour, that this my last scene being acted before them, they might be true testimonies and witnesses thereof. Whom, with your Honour, I commit to God's protection and humbly take my leave. Lismore, 6 May, 1593."

## XCVIII.

*The Lord Deputy to Burghley, relating his failure to induce the Earl of Tyrone to seize the Titulary bishops, and concerning the treachery of Miler Magrath, archbishop of Cashel.*

1593, May 17.

[Extract.]

"We have laboured, by all the endeavours we might, with the Earl of Tyrone, as well by private conference as by our sending letters, for the apprehension of the titulary bishops remaining in those parts, yet can we by no means prevail, though it is very well known to us that the Earl might have done great and acceptable service therein, in respect of the friendship between him, O'Donnell, and Maguire—Maguire being cousin-german and altogether at his devotion, and (as report goeth) either hath or is to marry the Earl's daughter.

And, as in this I made bold, I humbly pray your lordship's pardon to deliver what little success hath followed of the great shams of service made by the archbishop of Cashel and Richard Power, rather in regard for their own benefit, and to serve their own turns, than for any performance of actions at all

Upon the archbishop's coming over, which was before Power's, they pretended a plot, both for the getting of great sums of money to her Majesty, and for the apprehension of Dr. Creaghe, to the second of which we rather first hearkened, but in the end nothing was done, more than of spending so much time, and an open shew (as it were) made to the world how that traitor was sought and laid for—whereby the other traitorous titular bishops might take warning to be the more wary upon their keeping."

## XCIX.

*Fenton to Burghley, mentioning the suspicious departure from Ireland of archbishop Miler Magrath, who carried with him great sums of money and jewels.*

1593, May 26.

[Extract.]

"It is certainly known that the Archbishop of Cashel [Miler Magrath] is suddenly departed out of this Realm without licence, carrying with him great sums of money besides plate and jewels. [There] may be gathered no small causes of suspicion of a bad purpose in him—specially being compared with a like fugitive part in former times, when he came to Rome and other places ill-affected to her Majesty. Under your Lordship's favour he hath deserved to be called to strait question for it, the rather that the contempt may be avoided in others."

## C.

*Archbishop Magrath to Sir Robert Cecil, relating his misery, and requesting a Commission to examine into his case. From London.*

1593, June 8.

[Extract.]

"The great careful pains, which in my last troubles



it pleased your Honour to take for my release, hath emboldened me at this present, in hope of the like commiseration (the case being alike), to unfold my present extremities unto you. It is so, Right Honourable, that having, as well at my last being here, as after my departure home, discovered unto both the States the eminent danger the poor Realm of Ireland is subject unto by reason of the infinite imperfections there over abundantly reigning, with some means to prevent and remedy the same—and all this for discharge of my duty to God and her Majesty—I find myself in regard thereof so hardly beset and overwhelmed with the general unbridled multitude there, notorious papists and reconciled to the Pope and King of Spain (very few of them escaping the whip of my censuring discoveries) that they all have joined hearts and hands together to overthrow and destroy my poor self, well-known to be (of that country birth) their only eyesore and chiefest preventer and detector of all their mischievous practices and thirstings for invasion.

Which, accordingly, to perform, they find the way and means most easy—having quite alienated my friends, my servants, my kinsmen, the whole country's hearts from me—and by most false and slanderous suggestions [they have] clean withdrawn the now Lord Deputy from yielding a favourable look or listening ear to myself or causes—and carrying their pardons in their pockets for warrantize of whatsoever [may be] so performed.

My case, Right Honourable, resting thus, what other remedy might be left me in such an hourly expected danger—remaining safe neither in country nor town, at home or abroad, no, not in my church or chapter house—than for safeguard of my poor innocent life, thus infinitely and by infinite means sought

after, to appeal hither to the uncorrupted seat of justice and sanctuary of all afflicted subjects—her Majesty and her Honourable Council. Of whom, at this present, I require neither lands nor livings, pardon nor protection, but the indifferent weighing (and that in the balance of justice) of all matters, informed by me or against me. For now, being here, I seek no excuse nor fear any accuser. My clear conscience is a sure card. And yet, holding this maxim as infallible, that whom the Governour doth remark and the people envy, little hope hath he there to find any indifferent measures—the one being not so ready to accuse as the other to hear the same and accordingly proceed. For redress whereof, and preventing what might ensue, I would most humbly wish and beseech (as well to sift out the truth of my causes, to manifest my own innocence, and so much the rather because I would be loath to be noted a continual troubler of your Honours and the rest) that a commission might be granted to the Lord Chancellor, the two Chief Justices, the Treasurer at Wars there, or to any three or two of them only, and they, by virtue thereof newly to hear and examine, and accordingly finish and determine all my causes tending for her Majesty's advantage—the testimonies and juries of all papists and recusants, God's, her Majesty's, and my utter enemies wholly excepted and exempted.

This, Right Honourable, is the sum of my request, which being obtained, I would presently repair to my poor flock, live quietly amongst them and content myself with my poor fortunes. Vouchsafe, therefore, I most humbly beseech your Honour (the reasons of these my extremities duly considered, being only for God's and her Majesty's cause) according to that

honourable compassionate nature which heretofore you shewed in my causes, to afford your favourable help and countenance in effecting the same. And as young Alexander was to Philip, so be you a mean to my ever honourable patron, your father, to procure my despatch away. God knoweth my abilities are small, far unable to maintain me here, much less in any earthly sort to gratify your Honour's hitherto impartial favour. But life shall sooner leave me than I will leave, in my daily prayers, to be mindful of your courtesies, and to recommend the requital thereof to him that 'leaveth not unrewarded the bestowing of a cup of clean water for his sake—the mighty Jehovah. In whose name and for whose sake I once again humbly beseech your Honour to further this my most reasonable petition, and not to suffer a poor afflicted member and her Majesty's true subject, to be by her and his adversaries thus too apparently oppressed, who will account no work more meritorious than my overthrow. The Lord will requite the same, whom I humbly beseech so to possess your honourable father's heart and you, with the singleness and necessity of my petition, as that by your both means, it may be obtained—without which my state is desperate and hopeless of help. And so my life and state and all wholly being referred to your honourable father's and your direction, I humbly take my leave. From moy Idgings, the viii<sup>th</sup> of June, 1593. Your Honour's most humbly to command, MILERUS A.B. CASSEL.

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